

THE NEWARS OF NEPAL

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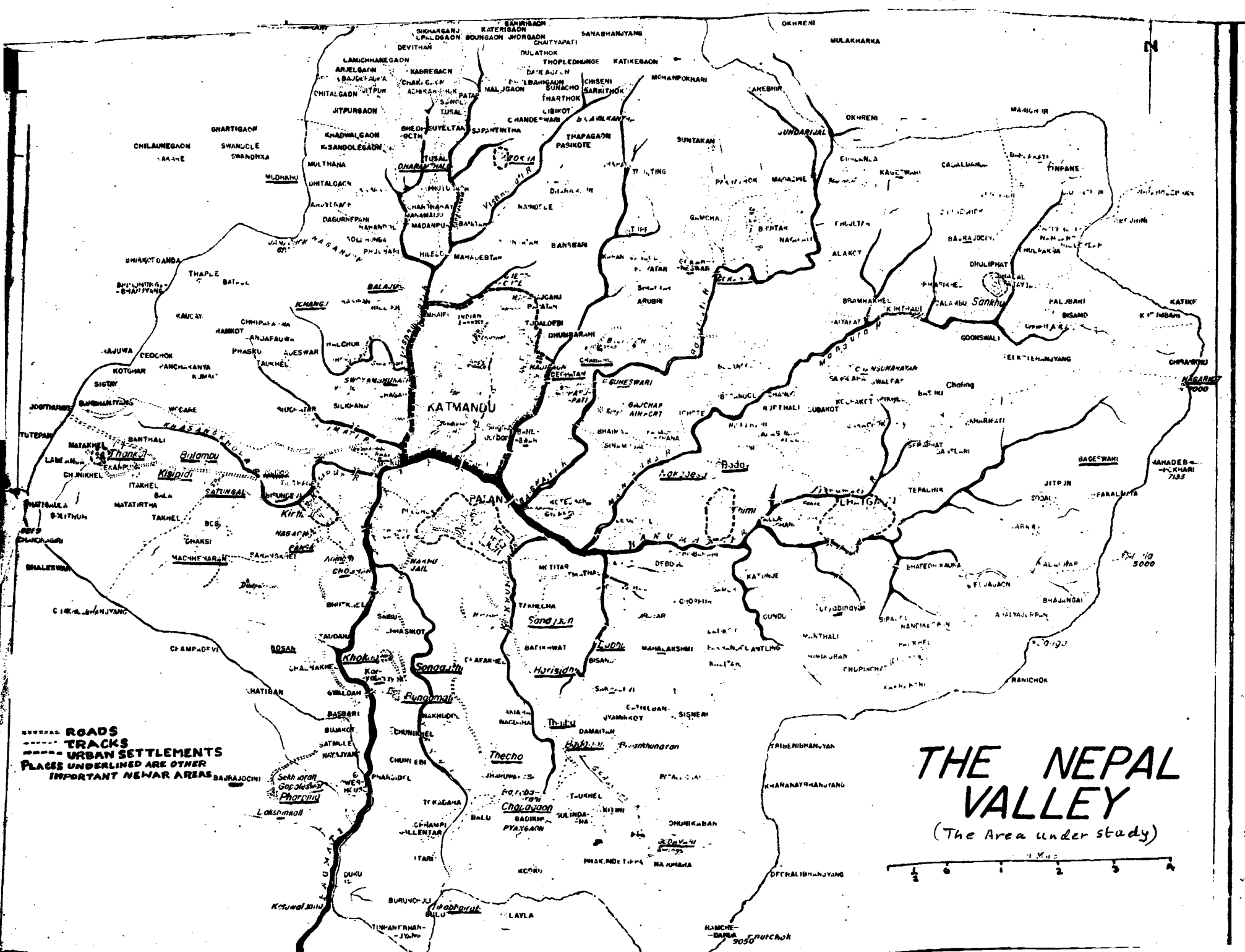
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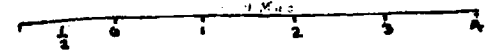
Gopal Singh Nepali



ROADS
TRACKS
URBAN SETTLEMENTS
PLACES UNDERLINED ARE OTHER
IMPORTANT NEWAR AREAS

THE NEPAL VALLEY

(The Area under study)



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Nepal forms an important link with the rest of India from the point of ethnology. It is the meeting ground of two powerful cultures - Indian and Tebetan. No where, perhaps in the other regions of Himalaya, is the ethnic conflict, co-operation and mutual assimilation so dynamic and strong as in this country. Nepal is one of 'the fringe-lands where caste society changes to non-caste society'. 'It is not, however, the remaining tribal island within the sea of caste society', but the point where the two above mentioned cultures come into contact. Hinduism, being the creed of the ruling group of the country, ~~it~~ purports to manifest the rigidity that Manu would have wished for. For many centuries the process of proselytisation has been going on. While Hinduism is transforming slowly and steadily the local people with the concomitant changes in moral values, it has not remained unaffected by the local culture. Truly speaking, the process is that of causing change and getting changed. Hinduism has, therefore, modified itself to a considerable extent by picking up the local beliefs and practices and assimilating ^{them} in itself. It can be likened to a huge structure, which has in every way retained its external appearance, keeping however, enough flexibility inside to accommodate alien elements. Yet another

important aspect of the Nepalese ethnology is the form of unity among diversities. Within her limited geographical bounds the country exhibits a variety of ethnic groups, each representing a totally different world, yet possessing the common thread of uniformity which runs through all of them.

To a great deal such diversity among the people and their cultures is attributable to the wide gulf created by dialects mutually unintelligible. Language differs among the people of the same stock, if spatially separated since a long time. Among these multitudes of peoples of diverse customs, manners and traditions, the Gorkha and the Newar are the only two groups which possess a high degree of culture. The former, a martial community and also a numerically and politically ^{dominant} stronger people, are notable for holding a position to which all the mongoloid tribes, when they give up their tribal norms, try to approximate. They are spread all over Nepal and form a proportion of more than fifty per cent of the total population. The Newars, on the other hand, though numerically far inferior, are sentimentally a well-knit community and have a high degree of cultural development. The contents of their culture and that of the Gorkhas are very nearly the same; but the two wholes differ from one another. While the one has idealised the spirit of the swords, the other ⁶its total

absence. [aided by the cultivation of aesthetic value and the collective aspect of the society.] The difference between these important groups results from the different functioning of their respective societies.

But of such peoples and their societies there has been little investigations. Causes for these in the past were many. But the primary one was the strict policy of the former Government as not to allow any research worker to go into the interior of the country. This has deprived us of many possibly fruitful studies which would have been helpful in the study of the Indo-Mongoloid cultures.] There is, ^{how} no ^{be} doubt, valuable ethnographical material collected by B.H. Hodgson, consisting of several volumes kept in manuscript form in the former India library in London. The additional sources of ethnological work concerning Nepal are those of Dr. Caldwell, Hamilton and K.P. Chattopadhyay. The dates of publications of the first two writers' work relate to 1838 and 1880, respectively; while the work of Chattopadhyay represents a good coalition of the available material on the Newar culture. There are also some other works which indirectly relate to ethnology of Nepal. A list of all these is to be found in the bibliography. Recently, there has been a steady flow of foreign scholars into Nepal to study the things on the spot. As far as possible I have

made an attempt to keep myself abreast of these current developments.

Despite what have been mentioned in the foregoing paras, there is really a dearth of anthropological material on Nepal. The present work is perhaps the first attempt in this direction to present a monographic account of a community of Nepal. It deals with the Newars who are mainly concentrated in the Valley of Kathmandu. The Newars exhibit an urban character and are a very ancient community which provides an interesting field for studies.

The thesis is the result of the survey work carried out by me in the Valley of Kathmandu in 1956⁷ and aided by the subsequent occasional visits. During my sojourn in the Valley of Kathmandu, I made an effort to study the community as closely as possible. Besides visiting the various parts of the Valley as also the regions outside it, I mainly concentrated myself on the village of Panga and the town of Kathmandu, the former lying to the south of the latter. I lived with the Newars, participated in their feasts and festivals and recorded facts about their social organisation. I took over 700 photographs to depict the life of the Newars. I collected informations for a sample of 224 families, partly drawn from Panga and partly from the town of Kathmandu. While I had my drawbacks

of not being an experienced anthropologist, I had my advantages too. Being a member of the Nepalese community I could study the Newars intimately, visit any part of their house, participate in any of their functions and converse freely with them. Such privileges are ordinarily not available to a foreign writer. As far as possible I have fully made use of such advantages and have tried to record in the present thesis even the minutest detail.

The work, however, suffers from the non-availability of the Census data regarding caste. This has been overlooked in the Nepal Census Report. Statistics regarding clan-names are also not available. Besides, I had to work within limited resources. Despite such deficiencies, the thesis gives a fairly good account of the Newars.

II

HABITAT

The main habitat of the Newars is the Valley of Kathmandu which occupies the tract between the basins of the river Gandak and the Kosi. It is called by ~~the~~ various other names, such as the Nepal Valley or simply Nepal. It is formed by the bifurcation of the ridge running towards south from the higher ranges of the Himalaya.⁷ To know its location in the context of the surrounding region, let us deal briefly with the geography of Nepal in general.

Nepal is an independent sovereign country situated on the northern frontier of India and for the most part lies on the southern slope of the Himalaya. It extends over 500 miles from east to west between the 80th and 88th degrees of East longitude. Its breadth varies between 90 and 100 miles. It is separated on the north from Tibet by the inaccessible snowy ranges of the Himalayas, while on its other three sides, it is engirdled by the Indian territories - Kumaon on the west, northern U.P. and northern Bihar on the south, and Sikkim and Darjeeling on the east.

Orthographically, the country can be divided into three zones running successively upward from east to west.

These include (i) the low land of tarai, a narrow belt between 10 and 30 miles; (ii) the sand-stone hills and its duns and Valleys; and (iii) the higher hills. The first region is the continuation of the Indo-Gangetic plain which is separated from the foot-hills by the dense tropical forest. The second region, consisting of the sand-stone ranges, is that part of the country which rises from the level of the tarai upto the height of some 8,000 to 10,000 ft., and is known as the Mahabharat range, running from east to west. In fact it is the continuation of the Siwaliks. It contains a number of big and small Valleys, mostly lying on its northern sides. The higher hills begin from beyond the Valleys and culminate into the snowy peaks of the Himalayas which overlooks the whole territory of Nepal.]

Within the hills, including both the sand-stone ranges and the higher hills, there are four natural divisions formed by the lofty ridges which run out southward, almost parallel to each other. These ridges stand out at right angles from the central axis of the Himalayas. Each of the divisions formed by these ridges is named after the river which drains it. Thus the western division is the basin of the Karnali or Gogra; the central division, the basin of the Gandak; and the eastern division, the basin of Kosi.

Between the central and eastern division lies the great Valley of Kathmandu which we have referred to in the beginning and which forms the main area of study for the present work.

The Kathmandu Valley is surrounded by the high mountains completely sealing it off from the outside world except for the narrow gorge through which the river Bagmati quits. Its northern wall is the Shivapuri range; the eastern, the Mahadeo-Fokhari; the southern, the Mahabharat; and the western, the mount of Kakani. The gorge through which the river Bagmati finds an outlet is situated between the mount Chandragiri, the western end of the Mahabharat range and the mount Kakani. Encircled by a chain of these mountains, the Valley of Kathmandu is a large plain spread flat over an elevation of 4,388 ft. It is oval in shape and irregular in surface level owing to the running of the spurs through it. In addition, the rivers have also much cut up the soil along their banks, which has resulted in the alternation of high pleatux and low level plains. The slope of the surface is towards the central region diameter of the Valley.

The rivers are the life line of the Valley. They form a net-work to drain the different parts of the Valley.

The main rivers include the Bagmati, the Vishnumati, the Hanumante^{and} the Monohara. Besides, there are a number of rivulets which ^{contain} have water during the rainy season only. These all rivers and rivulets rise from the surrounding mountains and flow towards the central region. During the summer even the main rivers almost go^y dry. But during the rainy season, they become swollen and flood the low lying areas along their banks. For navigation they are, however, useless; nor can they be used for the purpose of irrigation, except during the flood, as their beds lie deep below the surface-level of the earth. The river Bagmati after collecting the waters of all the other rivers runs due south-ward, follows the base of the Chandragiri mountain and quits the Valley through the gorge at Phirping. Thereafter, it drains the Valleys of Chitlang, Manka and Tama-Khana, and crossing the Mahabharat range, enters the tarai and finally falls into the Ganges near Monghyr.

The rivers, though directly not useful, protects the soil of the Valley from erosion. The people are not so aware of the material importance of these rivers as of their religious significance.

The geology of the country is little known, we have, however, the information that the Valley differs in

this respect from the surrounding hill regions whose geological character is similar to that of the other parts of the Himalaya.¹

The soil of the Valley is arranged into horizontal strata, containing no pebble. Within it occurs beds of peat and phosphatic blue clays to provide the main source of fertiliser. Geologists suggest that this could not have been possible without the Valley being once a lake of standing water. Mineral ores are not found in the Valley, though tradition asserts the existence of metal mines in the past.

The type of flora^{to be} found in the Valley and its surrounding regions is that of temperate forest of the Central Himalayan region. Within the Valley itself, vegetation is much wanting except in the hills of Swayambhu, Pashupati, Gokarna and the southern extremity of Bhatgaon. The growing population^{land} which requires more and more residential lands, and the agricultural needs, have been responsible for the clearing away of the forest. Authorities on the subject take the view that the wanting of forest is also due to the supply of timber and firewood to the local population through many centuries. In the Valley and its vicinity, a condition has reached where there is a sign of insufficiency in wood and timber.

1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. IXX, p. 29.

The trees that are to be found in the Valley are Oaks, Mapples and Pines. The bamboo trees are also found sufficiently. There is, however, a comparative absence of fruit trees. Not only this, the tropical trees like mango, neem and bel are rare. The absence of Bel tree is to be especially noted since there is a great demand for its leaves ^{for} as an offering to lord Pashupati; and its fruit ^{is} so essential a ritual-object in the Yihee ceremony of the Newar girls. These are largely imported from elsewhere. Tropical fruits like bananas, mangoes, tamarind, guavas, custard-apples and oranges are imported from the plain, ~~the~~ Noakot Valley and Pokhara. Towards the southern vicinity of the Valley, the Sal tree is found in abundance which supplies timber and fire-wood to the local population. These forests are of not much use for ~~their~~ commercial exploitation ~~as~~ ^{since} there are neither navigable rivers nor is there any mechanical device to lessen the cost of transport.

The fauna in the Valley is characteristic in the absence of the Indian animals. Birds are plentiful. The raptiles are all of the Himalayan type. Fishes are rare. Among wild animals include the Rhesus, Bat, Short-tailed Mole, Panthers, North-Indian Matir, Bears, Flying-squirrel, Nepal Rats, Magpie, Tree-pie, tits and vulture. The leopard is found in the surrounding jungle. A notable

animal which abounds in the Valley is the Jackal. The mountain-fox and the wild dog are also reported to be found. Lack of pasture does not permit a pastoral economy. Therefore, milch-cattle are not found in abundance. The goats and the buffaloes which are consumed in the Valley are imported from the tarai.

To the south of the Valley, however, a large variety of fauna is found in the dense forest of the tarai. These include, tiger, wild elephant, rhinoceros, wild buffalo antelope and the different species of deer, among which, swamp-deer or Bara Singha is especially notable. To the north of the Valley, a variety of the fauna is found on the higher hills among which, we note the Yak, wild-sheep, the musk-deer and the Tebetan Raven.

The climate of the Valley is excellent, resembling that of the south of Europe, though from June to October the humidity is great. The table below gives the mean temperature, daily maximum and minimum observed during 1917 to 1938.

Table I

TABLE I

Month	Mean of		Mean of	
	Daily Maximum C°	Daily Minimum C°	Highest in the month C°	Lowest in the month C°
January	18.1	2.3	24.4	- 2.8
February	20.1	4.4	28.3	- 1.1
March	25.2	7.4	33.3	- 1.7
April	28.8	11.4	35.0	4.4
May	29.6	15.8	36.1	9.4
June	29.3	19.3	37.2	13.9
July	28.7	20.4	32.8	16.1
August	28.6	20.2	33.3	16.1
September	28.1	18.7	33.3	13.3
October	26.7	13.6	33.3	6.6
November	22.7	7.6	29.4	0.6
December	18.8	3.2	28.3	- 1.7
Annual Mean	25.4	12.0	37.2	- 2.8

Source: Director General of Observatories, Government of India, New Delhi.

It will be seen that the annual maximum mean temperature is 25.4°C and the minimum is 12.0 . The mean daily maximum temperature goes to 29.3°C in May, the hottest

month of the year and the minimum is 15.8 during the same month. The coldest month of the year is January when the daily maximum is 18.1°C and the minimum is 2.3°C . The extreme highest mean temperature recorded is also in June (37.2°C) and the lowest being 13.9°C for the same month. Some times during the months of December, January and February the lowest mean for the month have gone down to -2.8°C , -2.8°C , and -1.1°C respectively.)

There are four main seasons similar to that prevailing in India - cold, summer, autumn and spring. The cold season is divided into three periods: first at the end of the rain, when the climate is mild and pleasant. It is the time when the important festivals of the Newars take place. During this period the atmosphere is tolerably clear and generally with mist and cloud in the morning. It continues upto mid-October. Thereafter, the temperature begins to fall considerably. During ^{the} severe cold months of December, January and February, the air is cloudless and bracy; in the morning the cold is excessive and visibility is poor due to the mist. ^{that} till 10.00 to 11.00 A.M.⁷ During the day there is bright sunshine, pleasant to warm oneself, in the sun though the cold is still severe. The nights ^{as} are again very cold, there being, however, no snow-fall in the recent years.

After February the cold begins to decline and by the end of March the spring season ushers in, which brings blistering winds. This period is also quite cold and one needs a blanket to cover oneself at night. During April, June and July the Valley is comparatively hot in the day. time and one starts perspiring while walking in the Sun.] But after sun set, and in the morning, it is quite pleasant. The nights are again cool. The spring season ushers in by the end of August and continues upto mid October. As stated earlier it is part of the cold season, as it is quite cold during this period.

~~At the~~ Monsoon brings heavy rain in the Valley. Rain is the only source of water for irrigation. If the rain fails the local peasants fall into distress since the fields go dry. The following table shows the rain fall in comparison to the tarai and the higher hills which lie to the east and the north-west, respectively.

Nearly half the total rainfall occurs during the months of July and August, the total rain fall being 1417.2 m.m. The atmosphere is comparatively cooled down so much so that one begins to feel quite chilly even during the mid-day. The lowest rain fall occurs during the months of January, November and December. A comparison of the rain fall in the Valley

with those of Okhal Dhunga (eastern hill), Taple-Jung (North-western of the Valley) and Barakak Kshetra shows a considerable difference.

TABLE II

AVERAGE RAINFALL

Month	Mean Monthly total Rainfall in m.m.			
	Kathmandu Valley 4388 ft.	Barakak Kshetra 528 ft.	Okhal- Dhuna 6900 ft.	Taple-jung 700 ft.
January	9.7	4.3	16.3	11.9
February	42.4	32.8	22.3	29.0
March	15.0	34.5	30.5	37.6
April	25.7	62.7	88.9	161.8
May	129.5	164.3	95.0	223.3
June	245.9	343.4	269.0	328.4
July	373.1	532.9	380.2	445.3
August	347.5	771.7	448.3	361.4
September	181.9	472.4	202.4	389.1
October	36.6	88.7	48.0	78.2
November	1.5	16.3	7.6	15.7
December	8.4	0.0	2.5	1.8
Annual Mean	1417.2	74.0	-	-

Source:- Director General of Observatories, New Delhi.

To sum up, the main features of the Valley are that it is a great alluvial plain whose surface level has a gradual slope towards the central diameter; ~~That~~ The surface level is, however, not uniform; that it has a net-work of rivers which forms the drainage system of the Valley; that the soil contains phosphatic elements which is responsible for its high fertility; that its climate and temperature are excellent; that it has a heavy rain fall; that it has a valuable forest around it, which supplies timber and fuel; that it has no pasture ^wresulting in the scarcity of the cattle-wealth; and finally that it is surrounded by the high ranges which isolate it from the outside world. The isolation was much responsible in the past for the comparative protection of the Valley from the outside attacks.

For administrative purposes the Valley is at present divided into three regions - Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon. Their modern names are respectively Kantipur, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. Each of these divisions forms concentric circles of smaller towns and villages with their respective cities - Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon as centres. In reality we should distinguish three regions: i) Kathmandu town and its suburb; (ii) Patan town and its suburb; and (iii) Bhaktapur town and its suburb.

[Kathmandu town is the capital of the country. It is the only town which may be called a modern city with the possible availability of things that are modern. All the important commercial establishments, Government offices, educational institutions for higher studies, foreign Embassies, libraries, hotels, Cinema houses are located within its area. Its original shape is said to resemble the sword of Bhagwati. It has, however, far outflung its original bounds and shape and is making encroachment upon the agricultural lands which lie around it. Its tendency is to expand towards the eastern and southern sides where the open area lies.]

Patan town lies about two miles to the south-west of Kathmandu. A metal road leads to this town, which is connected with Kathmandu by a bridge over the river Bagmati. This town stands on a rising ground. It is an older town than Kathmandu. It is also known as Ye(n)la in Newari, which means 'that which falls on the way to Kathmandu. It is sufficiently a big town with the main square in the centre. The town as a whole still preserves the representative character of the Newar architecture and town planning. Modernity has hardly touched it. Its palace and public buildings all stand in neglected conditions. It wears the appearance of desoluteness with the old memory of its grandeur. The end of its political importance after]

the fall of the Newar kings has robbed it of its one time prosperity and commercial importance. However, the majority of the skilful Newar metal-workers are to be found in this town. Its western boundry-region is being occupied by the wealthy non-Newars for residential purposes, since the climate is thought to be very healthy.]

From Patan a Kachha footpath leads to the town of Kirtipur which forms a part of the Patan region. It is linked with Patan by a bridge over the Bagmati river. This town lies to the west of Patan and south to Kathmandu. It is the town at whose southern base is situated the village of Panga, where the writer lived for some months to study the rural life of the Newars. Kirtipur is a big hamlet which still retains the memory of having been once a flourishing town. It was the capital of one of the four Newar principalities in the Valley. The old sites of the palace and the market place are still to be found. It is situated upon the top of the rounded low hill and commands a magnificent view of the whole Valley. The height of this settlement is about two to three hundred feet above the level of the plain. There are a few grocery and retail cloth-shops owned by the Shresthas. During the invasion by Prithivi Narain Shah, its inhabitants had offered a stiff resistance

and earned a fame. After the fall of the city most of its principal inhabitants were put to death and the remaining had their noses and lips cut off.² The name of the town thereafter was changed by the Gorkhas to Naskatapur, city of cut-noses. Kirtipur lies abandoned, reduced to a village and robbed of its past prosperity.

Formerly, the route to Kathmandu from Thankot ran through it, giving it the honour of being the gateway of the Valley. It had then retained its urban character. The new route leaves Kirtipur far off to the western side and, therefore, its importance has altogether vanished. Its good days are, however, not far off as the Kathmandu University area is likely to extend upto its base.

From Kirtipur a Kachha road runs to Kathmandu. In fact it is the Phirping-Kathmandu route with which Kirtipur is linked by a foot-path. It takes about an hour or so to reach Kathmandu on foot.

Bhaktapur town lies farther away at the western extremity of the Valley, about eight to ten miles. It is situated on the northern bank of the Hanumante, and is said

2. Caldfield, A.H.A. - Sketches from Nepal, Vol. I, 1880, pp.126-27.

to resemble in shape and conch of Vishnu, the rounded and broader end of the shell being towards the north-east and the pointed end being directed to the south-west. It stands on a table land with its slope down the river. Its location at a far distant place deprives it of the active urban life of Kathmandu. The town is, however, a living testimony to the early type of town planning. Between Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, another important hamlet lies, whose dependence is more on the Kathmandu town than on Bhatgaon.

Apart from these main urban centres, there are a number of smaller towns and hamlets which owe their allegiance in social and religious matters to their respective cities. These all are connected by a net-work of motorable roads.

Accessibility to the Valley till 1951 was only by land-route. The traditional route leads from Rexaul, a town on the Indian border upto Bhim Phedi at the foot of the mountain from where the ascent begins. Between these two places there is a narrow gauge railway opened in 1927, run by the Nepal Government linking Rexaul with Amlekhganj, about 29 miles in distance. The important commercial town Birganj, lies a few miles away from Rexaul. From Amlekhganj the journey is continued by car or lorry upto Bhimphedi

situated at the height of about 3,650 ft., the road rising about 100 ft. in every mile. The motor-road passes through a tunnel (300 yds. long) called Churia pass, which is believed to be presided over by the Churiamai deity. After crossing the first range of Mahabharat, Bhimphedi is reached. From here the journey is continued on foot, crossing one range after another till the road ends at Thankot. From here a clear view of the Valley can be had. In between the distance there are two difficult passes of Sisager (6,225 ft.) and the Chandragiri (7,700 ft.).

In the former days the traditional route was the only link between the Valley and India. The electrically driven rope-way maintained between Dhursing (near Bhimphedi) and Thankot transported the heavy goods. This rope-way is about 14 miles long and rises to a height of 4,500 ft. in its onward journey to Kathmandu. But a total load carriage of this machine is not enough to meet the heavy transport of goods. Therefore, human labour was still in great demand to do the job of a machine.

The old route is still the shortest land-route to the Valley. Many a shop and settlement had sprung up on its way, and a large number of Sherpas had come down to these places to earn their livelihood as labourers. This traditional road has, however, fallen much in disuse, since Kathmandu is

now-a-days directly connected by a metal road (Tribhuvan Rajpath) on which jeeps and lorries can ply. The Tribhuvan Rajpath covers a distance of about seveny miles between Bhainsia and Kathmandu. It rises roughly to a height of about nine thousand feet at the Sheo-Bhanjyang before the descent begins on the other side. It turns away to the left at Bhainsia from the road to Bhimphe¹. Now-a-days the bulk of the merchandise goods are carried through this road and transport of goods and foodgrains into the Valley have become far easier and cheaper than in the past. In addition, three important towns in the tarai, namely, Bhairava, Birganj and Biratnagar are linked with Kathmandu by air, which have daily services. Kathmandu has also a regular air-service with Patna. This new development in the means of transport and communication has all of a sudden brought the inhabitants of the Valley much closer in contact with the outside world. It takes hardly an hour from Patna to fly to Kathmandu which maintains a modern aerodrome.

On the north the Valley admits accessibility to the Tebetan side through three difficult passes, namely, Kuti (21,544 ft.), Rasua (6,000 ft.) and Mustang. The Kuti pass is only 90 miles away from Kathmandu and is the shortest route to Lhasa. Rasua pass is comparatively wider and, therefore,

animal as the means of transport is possible through it. In 1792 the Chinese had employed this very pass to send their troops into Nepal. The Tebetan merchants employ this pass for pilgrimage to the Buddhist shrine in the Valley and for trading in salt, musk and horses.

III

HISTORY

The history of the country is restricted to the Valley of Kathmandu only. Nepal in the former days^{Nep} did not cover so wide a territory as it covers now. Little history is, therefore, known about the rest of the country. The main source of Nepal's history is the ancient chronicles, as kept in Kashmir, which are written in the form of legendary history. But when these legendry and semi-legendry facts are checked with the aid of inscriptions, colophones and the travellers' accounts, a connected stages of history emerges, though some confusions of chronology have yet to be set at right. The early history of the Valley is purely mythological; the period upto the 10th Century also does not have a continuous history; but from the 10th Century onward the history of the country marches onward with sufficient continuity and consistency.

Nepal does not find ample reference in the Hindu scriptures of India. And no body knows what was the name given to it in the early times till we come to the days of Kautilya (321 - 296 B.C.). Because it is during this period that, for the first time, we encounter with the term Nepal

which is referred to ^{here again} in the Artha Shastra by Kautilya.³

But there is no much information on Nepal, except that the blankets called 'Bhingisi' used to be imported from this country. Looking to this reference we may say that the term must have been current long before the days of Kautilya. Since how long, no body knows. It has been suggested that it must have evolved out of an earlier term 'Nipa' which finds its reference in Mahabharat. Robert Shafer, after examining the views of Silvain Levi and Lassen, agrees with the latter that at least the first part of Nepal could be derived from Nipa.⁴ According to him, 'Nipa' by Vriddhi of the first vowel, became Naipa, 'referring to the people of Nipa'. And Sanskrit 'ai' became Prakrit 'e'. But the last part of the word '-la', he believes may be of Tebeto-Burman origin.⁵ In spite of the poverty of ^{scant} ample reference of Nepal in the ancient Hindu literatures, it is at least suggestive of the fact that the country was known in India as early as the Epic time. After Kautilya, Nepal is next mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta (326 - 75 A.D.). It is included as a vassal among the other two Himalayan

3. Shamasastri, R. - Kautilya's Arthasastra, Mysore, 1951.

4. Ethnography of Ancient India, Wiesbaden, 1954, p. 137.

5. Ibid.

countries.⁶ Kalhan in the 12th Century alludes to a battle fought between Jayapida of Kashmir and King Varmadeva of Nepal at the river Kali-Gandaki.⁷ The external sources are thus not very useful for ascertaining the antiquity of Nepal.

But the legendary accounts preserved in the local Hindu and Buddhist literatures as well as the Ancient chronicles in Nepal suggest a far distant past when the Valley of Nepal was a big lake which was the abode of serpent gods (Nagas) ruled by the serpent King Karkotaka.⁸ Therefore, it was called Nag-Hrid or Naga-Vasa. During such early period which is referred to as Satya Yuga, the lake which lay within 'Sumeru' was a great object of sanctity. Numerous ascetics from India used to come to it for pilgrimage. In the legends all such personages are termed as Buddhas who preceded Sakya Sinha, the last Buddha. Among such Buddhas, one was Vipasu Buddha who came from the city of Bindumati. He threw a lotus seed into the water and prophesied that when it would grow into a flower, Swayambhu, the Self-Existent one would appear on it in the form of a flame. He was followed by many other Buddhas from India in the Treta-Yuga. Among these later ascetics was Maha Manjusri who, curiously enough is said to have come from China, along with his female consorts - Mokshada and Barda. He is further said to have

6. Sharma, B.C. - Nepal-Ko-Itihasik Roop-Rekha, Banares, p. 48.

7. Pandit, R.S., *Rajatarangini*, Allahabad, 1935, 142-146

8. Wright, D. - History of Nepal, 1877, p. 77 qq.

cut a passage through the mountain to drain the water of the lake. He is ~~further~~ credited with the discovery of Swayambhu and the goddess Gubeshwari, and the installation of a king, Dharmakara to rule over the newly reclaimed land.

The Nepalese legends further tell us that the name of the country was derived from a great Rishi named, Ne⁹ who installed a cowherd as the ruler of the country on the commencement of Kaliyuga. The Hindu part of the legend regards the flame of Swayambhu as that of the Pashupati Linga and it narrates that it was not Manjusri but Vishnu who cut the passage by his discus to drain the lake-water; the two goddesses Barda and Mokshada are identified respectively with Laxmi and Saraswati.¹⁰

The earliest dynasties which seem to have ruled over the country are narrated in the tradition as belonging to the Gopalas and the Abhiras, who came from Gujarat. They established their capital at Mata-Tirtha; Krishna, the leader of the former, is said to have killed demon Danasur and married his daughter.¹¹ There were eight kings of the former race, who bore the surname of Gupta. They were succeeded by a second board of

9. Ibid, p. 89.

10. Sharma, B.C. - Op. cit. p. 57.

11. Ibid, p. 62.

the Abhiras who perhaps came from the northern India. According to Kirkpatrick this later race had already established their rule in the surrounding region before they entered Nepal. These Abhira Kings bore the surname of Singh.¹²

Tradition asserts that the Kiratas from the east displaced the cowherd dynasties and established their rule with capital at Gokarna.¹³ It is held that there were 27 or 29 kings whose reign extended over a thousand years. Chatterji says that the names of all these kings are non-Sanskritic.¹³ According to the tradition recorded in the Ancient Chronicles of Nepal, the sixth King, Humati ^{had} reigned when the Pandavas had to live in exile; and during the reign of his son, Jitedsi, the battle of Mahabharat was fought. But this fact is inconsistent with the reference in the Ancient Chronicle that Sakya Sinha was contemporaneous with Humati, since there is a difference of several centuries between the period of Mahabharat and Sakya Sinha. Sharma takes the view that Jitedsi may be taken as contemporaneous with Gautama Buddha. It is because, the subsequent events will otherwise become chronologically confused.¹⁴ There is also ²confusion with regard to the precedence given to the

12. Ibid, p. 63.

13. Kirati-Jana-Kriti - R.A.S.B., Vol.+XVI, 1950, No.2, p.183

14. Sharma, B.C. - Op. cit., p. 65.

cowherd dynasties. It is pointed out that the period of Kiratas, on calculation, would seem to commence ^{from} not later than 840 B.C.¹⁵ If that is so, the period of Abhiras would either be beyond 840 B.C. or after the Kiratas. Authorities are rather inclined to take the latter view, while it is conceded that long before their coming into the Valley, the Abhiras had already set up their rule to the south of the Valley in the region of Janakpur and Simraun Garha.¹⁶ What is of interest to us is not the chronology, but the possibility of the assimilation of these two ^{sets of} peoples, which possibly provided the foundation of Newar culture in the Valley.

The events as revealed by the traditions in Nepal, so far as such early periods of the Abhiras and ~~the~~ Kiratas are concerned, show a very close cultural contact between the people of the Valley and India. We have already pointed out earlier that the Kirata period was marked by the visits of Gautama Buddha and Emperor Asoka to the Valley. We may also add that the marriage of Asoka's daughter, Charumati with a local Kshatriya chief took place as stated elsewhere. An additional evidence of the close cultural contact of the Valley with north India is revealed by Silvain Levi's translation of a tale as set out in the Mulasarvastivada Vinaya.¹⁷

15. Ibid, p. 73.

16. Ibid, pp. 74-75.

17. Le Nepal, Vol. III, p. 181, sqq.

This tale refers to the relatives of Ananda who were living in Nepal. After the massacre of the Sakyas it is said that some of the survivors fled to Nepal, among whom were the relatives of Ananda. The Indian merchants who returned from the Valley informed Ananda that his relatives insisted upon his visit to them. Thereupon Ananda visited them and returned. This story renders it plausible that as early as the time of Gautama Buddha some of the Lichhavis were living in the Valley. It is perhaps not wrong to suggest that while the Kiratas ruled the country, the Lichhavis and the Abhiras constituted the bulk of the local population.

The Kiratas were attacked from the West by the Soma Vamsi Rajputs and consequently they had to shift their capital from Gokarna to a nearby place called Shankhamool. The last Kirata King Gasti (110 A.D.) was finally defeated leading to the establishment of Soma Vamsi dynasty in the Valley. But the rule of this dynasty endured^{only} for a short while. Bhaskar Varma, the last King in the line, had no son; and, therefore, on his death the throne was taken over by his son-in-law, Bhumi-Varma who established the early Lichhavi dynasty. Of this line, Mana Deo (C. 464 - 491 A.D.) was an illustrious King. His Kingdom is believed to have covered a large territory extending a little further than the Gandak in the

West and as far as the Kosi in the east.¹⁸ During his reign Nepal appears to have an intimate contact with the Imperial Guptas. King Bhaskar Varma is generally believed to be the father-in-law of Chandra Gupta. The last King Shivadeva married his daughter to Amsu Varma, a Vaishya-Thakuri chief who established a diarchy along with his father-in-law.

Who were these Vaishya-Thakuri is not known. Perhaps they were allied to the Lichhavis with whom they were having matrimonial connections. Authorities are of the view that the era relating to Emperor Harsha Vardhan (606-647), a contemporary of Amsu Varma, was introduced into Nepal by the latter.¹⁹ If that is to be so, Amsu Varma, as he is identified as a Vaishya Thakuri, may be a consanguineal relative of the Emperor who sent him to manage Nepal. It is rendered possible by the event which shows attachment of Amsu Varma with the Imperial interest. For on the death of Harsha Vardhana of Kannauj, he seems to have brought 7,000 horsemen to support a Chinese attack on Arjuna who usurped the Throne of Kannauj.²⁰

It is rendered possible that during the period of Amsu Varma or even earlier, Nepal had acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Emperor Harsha Vardhana of Kannauj.²¹ But on the death of the Emperor, Amsu Varma proclaimed his independence.

18. Sharma, B.C. - Op. cit., p. 83.

19. Ibid, pp. 87-88.

20. Imperial Gazetteer, Op. cit., p. 31.

21. Ibid.

By this time the barbaric life of Tebet had given way to the emergence of political consolidation under the strong leadership of King Song-tsen-Gam-Po. His invading armies conquered upper Burma and Western China. He also invaded Nepal. He compelled the emperor of China and Amsu Varma to marry their respective daughters to him. The two queens brought Buddhism into Tebet from their respective natal countries. Such a ^{new} rise of power in the north brought Nepal and Tebet much closer to each other. Song-tsen-Gam-Po built a number of monasteries throughout the country. Nepal became the main source of Buddhism for Tebet. The form of Buddhism which prevailed in Nepal was adopted as the State religion.²² Amsu Varma's period was marked by the close contact with Harsha Vardhana on the one hand and with Tebet, on the other.

On the death of Amsu Varma, the Lichhavi sovereigns grew again powerful, except for a short period when Jeshnu Gupta, an Abhira chief, who proclaimed himself as 'Somawanya Bhushan' established the second diarchy in Nepal. Soon after his death, the Lichhavis continued to be^h effective rulers. During the beginning of the 11th Century, the throne was captured by the Thakuris of Noakot, who also assumed the surname of 'deva'. The Noakot Thakuri dynasty continued upto 1078, when it was displaced by a collateral descendant of

22. Bell, Charles - Tebet, Past and Present, 1924, p. 24.

23. Imperial Gazetteer, Op. cit., p. 31.

Amsu Varma.

The rule of the early Lichhavis was marked by the flowering of ~~the~~ Hindu civilization in the Valley. Most of the Kings were the followers of Siva and Vishnu, though Buddhism was allowed to flourish and given state-aids. Art and architecture found ample encouragement. The society of the Valley, though divided into Buddhist and Hindu, was basically a Hindu society with the common Hindu deities as the basis of their two religions. Perhaps it would not be incorrect to suggest that during the 7th Century, Nepalese Buddhism from the point of view of the common man, had not totally differentiated itself in Nepal but ^{had} existed as a sect of Hindu religion, no matter what it meant to the monks who lived in the Valley.

Towards the close of 12th Century, a new line of dynasty emerges on the throne of Nepal. These were the Mallas. Who were these Mallas and how ~~did~~ they rose to power is not quite clear. From the very early time ample references to them are found in the Hindu scriptures as ^{it has} have been pointed out with reference to the present Malla caste among the Newars (vide Chapter IV). The first king of this dynasty was Arimalla Deo (1207 - 1216 A.D.). These Mallas continued to rule till the first quarter of the 14th Century.

However, during the reign of Ananta Malla, the nominal suzerainty of the country passed on to the Karnatakas as will be seen from what follows.

The Mallas were attacked by the powerful chief, Nanya Deo who claimed to be a Karnatic prince. Nanya Deo is said to have brought with him the Newars as soldiers in his army.²⁴ Probably Nanya Deo was an army chief under the Chalukyas. During these days, the Chalukya emperor, Someshwar III appears to have extended his control not only over Nepal but also over many of the regions of North India, including Simrawn Garha.²⁵ It has been suggested that Nanya Deo in the beginning might have been a chief in the court of Simrawn-garha, but he usurped the throne later and finally also sacked Nepal. These Karnatakas, it is believed, were Marathi or Kannada speaking barons or military chiefs from the Deccan who followed the victorious arms of Vikramaditya during the 1040 to 1069 A.D.²⁶ Nanya Deo, the Nepalese legends assert, introduced three divisions of Newars - Acharya, Joshi and Shrestha. Nanya Deo's death was followed by the division of his Kingdom into two parts - one of his sons reigning in Nepal and another in Mithila. The

24. Wright, D. - Op. cit., p. 167.

25. Sharma, B.C. - Op. cit., p. 118.

26. Chatterjee, S.K. - Kirata-Jana-Kriti, Op.cit., p.185.

Karnatakas were content to have nominal sovereignty while the Mallas ruled the country. However, the Simraun Garha line of the Karnatakas flourished for a long time. It is quite probable that despite the waning of their power in Nepal, the Karnatakas continued to maintain an intimate relations in cultural matters since Simraun Garha is situated quite near to the Valley.

The beginning of the 14th Century saw a great political confusion in north Behar. In 1323 ~~the~~ Emperor Tughlak Shah led his victorious forces into Tirhout. Hari Singh Deo, a descendant of Nanya Deo, who ruled over Tirhout was defeated by the Imperial forces. He, therefore, fled Simraun Garha, his capital and escaped to Nepal and conquered it. The arrival of Hari Singha Deo resulted in a fresh assertion of Hinduism and the introduction of the people from the plain. Hari Singh Deo and his successors were, like their predecessors, content to be the nominal head of the State while the actual rule rested with the Mallas themselves.

Shortly afterwards a new king by name Jayasthi Malla appears on the scene to the total oblivion of the Karnataka line. It is generally held that his claim to the throne of Nepal was established through his marriage with

Rajalla Devi, a Karnatik princess. This King was a great patron of art and a firm believer in Hinduism, while he was liberally tolerant of Buddhism. During his reign Sanskrit and Newari both received state patronage for literary development. Besides he was a great reformer. As stated elsewhere he reorganised the Hindu society of Nepal and also formulated special laws to regulate it. King Jayasthi Malla also took administrative steps. He standardised weights and measures and assessed the value of land and buildings in the Valley.

Towards the close of the 15th Century, the Kingdom of the Valley was split into three principalities among the sons of Yaksha Malla - Rajya Malla ruled over Bhatgaon; Rana Malla over Banepa and Ratna Malla over Kathmandu. These three lines continued till 1769 when they were attacked by the Gorkhas from the west.

The Gorkhas had their capital in the town known as Gorkha in the west. Legend relates that the ancestors of the Gorkha dynasty came from Chittor during the 12th Century. Some Rajputs had fled their country after the attack by Allauddin Khilji. It is said that some of them took shelter in the Himalayan region. Of them one group came to the Tarai and the western hill region of Nepal where they set up

numerous petty principalities after subjugating the local Khasas and the tribes such as the Magars and the Gurungs. They bore the surname of Sen, Shah and Rana. Of these, there were 24 petty states in the Gandak region, and one of them was the Gorkha line which ruled under the title of Shah. Originally they ruled in Noakot and later annexed the town of Gorkha wherefrom they derived their group appellation. In this line was born Prithvi Narain Shah in 1742. Long before he was quite grown up, Prithvi Narain Shah took to conquering the surrounding regions including the Valley of Kathmandu.

The Gorkha conquest of the Valley brought about the end of the Malla rule in 1769. Having obtained the complete possession of the Valley, Prithvi Narain Shah became the first sovereign of the Gorkhali-dynasty. By 1795, after the death of Prithvi Narain Shah, the dominions of Nepal extended from Bhutan to Kashmir and from Tibet to the borders of the British Provinces. In 1792 a commercial treaty was signed between Nepal and India. The Gorkhas had previously been converging on invasion of some of the parts of Tibet. As a result of it, the Emperor of China sent an army against the Nepalese. The Chinese reached Nayakot, within 25 miles of Kathmandu. It was against this background that the commercial treaty was signed which enabled the Nepalese to seek aid from

the British. By the time Col. Kirkpatrick reached Nayakot to mediate between the Chinese and the Nepalese, the latter had already concluded a peace treaty, acknowledging the suzerainty of China.²⁷ This was the first time when a British Officer was allowed in the country. In 1801 another treaty was signed with the British to replace the former one which had become defunct. This provided for the establishment of a Regent in Kathmandu. Between 1804-1812 relations between the Nepalese and the British worsened on the ground of border questions. In 1814 war was declared and in 1816 the treaty of Sugauli was signed. Under this treaty Nepal had to give up claims to the territories which lay to the west of the Kali river and east of the Mechi river. As a result the regions of Kumaon, Dehra Dun, Almora, Simla etc., became part of British India.

While Nepal's friendly relation with the British gradually improved, the political condition inside the country was very unsatisfactory. Family feuds between the Thapas and the Pandes continued for years for gaining control over the office of the Prime Minister. During such hectic years court-intrigues resulting in the death of many persons marked the internal politics of Nepal. Finally Jung Bahadur emerged victorious by planning the Kot massacre in which

²⁷ Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XIX, 1908, p. 34.

almost all the important nobles and sardars were killed. Jang Bahadur became the first Rana Prime Minister. After his death, the office passed on to his brother Ranaudip. But Ranaudip and his two sons were put to death by the sons of Dhir Shamser, a cousin of Jung Bahadur. Bir Shamser, the eldest son of Dhir Shamser assumed the post of Prime Minister to be continued by his brothers and descendants till the revolution of 1951.

While such politics went on in the Valley, the local inhabitants, the Newars, had no interest in the quarrels among their rulers. Since the fall of the Newar Kings, they were merely content to lead a peaceful life and be content with the employment in many of the high civil posts. They accepted the life as a matter of fact. This characteristic of the Newars to accept a new conqueror without any express protest had always marked their history in the past. But there is one significant difference between the Gorkhas and the earlier conquerors. The earlier conquerors who were political masters were themselves assimilated into the Newar culture, the Gorkhas, however, maintained their separate entity. They have, at the same time, made the Newar culture as a part of the greater Nepalese society. It is perhaps due to enough number of women among the Gorkhas, which sustained their separate existence as against the earlier conquerors.

IV

THE PEOPLE

The term Newar is applied to designate a number of former ethnic groups who have, through centuries of interbreeding, been welded into a community with common traditions of language and other social heritage. It is, therefore, a gross-over simplification to regard them as belonging to one single racial origin. Baines and Risley have, therefore, rightly called them as a national tribe or caste.²⁸ Their cultural homogeneity results much from the refusal by the numerically and politically dominant Gorkhas to regard them as a different group when looked from the orthodox Hindu viewpoint.

Though politically the Newars are not differentiated now from the Gorkhas inasmuch as all of them enjoy equal rights and privileges, yet socially, culturally and emotionally, there is a wide gulf between the Newars and the other communities of Nepal. It is with the Gorkhas that they come into serious ideological conflict. The attitude towards each other is amply reflected in some of the proverbs to be found in Nepali. As for instance the Gorkhas say: 'Babu Dushāra. Newar ishta Kaele pani hunna' (A father can never be an enemy, so a Newar can never be a friend); 'Ye Newar

28. Ethnography, p. 137; People of India, p. 137.

pate, babu Lai Do-bato ma Kata" (Newar would not mind hacking his father at the cross road). These two proverbs in a representative way reveal the stereo-typed attitude of the Gorkhas towards the Newars. Another adage hints at the so-called extreme timidity of the Newars. It runs: 'Bagmati pari syal karayo, buigal-magatt talwar Jhik-chha'. (A jackal howls across the Bagmati, the Newar runs in fright to the topmost floor of the house and there he shows bravery by brandising his sword). Another proverb expresses contempt for the food habit of the Newars. It runs: 'Rango-ko tauko khaye-ko hunu-le, yinee heru-ko swar larbaraye-ko' (Because they eat buffalo's head, therefore, their pronunciation of Nepali words is faulty). It hints at the Newar's failure to pronounce 't' and 'd' as palatal and dental, respectively. There are some proverbs which relate to the infidelity of the Newars in sex matters and their un-Hindu ceremonial practices regarding birth, death, marriage and divorce.

The Newars, on the other hand, retaliate by calling the Gorkhas as Fakhe. That is to say, the Gorkhas have no culture to boast of. They are uncivilized. An adage runs: 'Magar-ko-lwang-lawa^{wa}ge shraddha'. It means that in the Shraddha of a Magar (Gorkhas are included by implication), there is nothing, except a few cloves. These are enough to

show the cultural conflict between the two major communities - the Newars and the Gorkhas. But owing to the accepted relative positions, these attitudes do not create a conflict in relation to the other ethnic groups. The Newars, because of their high culture and economic means are not matched by the other communities who lag behind in civilization.

In disposition, the Newars are peaceful and cheerful. Their women are as industrious as their men. Women sit at the shops and the freedom and the status they enjoy speak significantly of the Newar social organisation. The Newars are highly emotional but dislike engaging themselves in physical fight. Their peaceful nature has been regarded by the Gorkhas as not a virtue and that is why some of the adages have been coined to scoff at their so-called timidity.

The Newars are at present spread all over Nepal and according to the Census Report of Nepal 1952/54, the total population of the Newari speaking people in Nepal is 3,83,184. But allowance can be made for not including in it some of the Newars who might have returned Nepali as their mother tongue. The following table gives the regional distribution of Newars in Nepal:

TABLE I

Regions	Area in Sq.miles	Density	Total Popula- tion	Newar Popula- tion	Percentage of 5 over 4
1	2	3	4	5	6
Eastern Hills	10,114	169	1708,816	76,514	4.50
East Inner tarai	1,829	103	188,204	3,518	1.90
Eastern tarai	5,115	353	1803,445	8,089	0.40
Kathmandu Valley	218	1885	410,871	225,819	55.00
Western Hills	2,977	108	3211,383	53,976	1.70
Centre Inner tarai	2,445	98	239,677	12,568	5.20
West Inner tarai	714	125	89,315	38	-
Mid-Western tarai	1,307	266	348,179	1,618	0.50
Far-Western tarai	2,843	83	235,189	1,044	0.40
Total	54,362	152	8235,079	383,184	100.00

Source: Nepal Census Report, 1952/54.

It will be seen from the preceding table that within the territory of Nepal that the Newars are unevenly distributed. Their population is the least in the tarai region and the densest in the Valley of Kathmandu. As between the western and eastern hills, their numbers are more in the eastern than in the Western Nepal. Such a pattern of distribution can be accounted for partly by economic reasons and partly by ethnic

ones. Let us proceed to discuss their distribution in the different districts.*

In the eastern region, they live in the district headquarters or in important urban centres. For instance, they are mainly to be found in Sindhuli Palanchouk (13,723), Kabre-Palanchouk (25,058), Dolakha (10,122), Chisankhu (5,817), Manjh-Kirat (2,791) and Bhojpur (6,507), Dhankutta 6-thum (3,921), Dhankutta 13-thum (5,317) and Ilam (1,636). The main ethnic groups which provide the human environment in the eastern regions, as we move towards the east from the Valley, are the Tamangs, the Rais and the Limbus in order of their ethnic locations. This part of the Nepalese territory is the stronghold of the last two tribes which are split into a number of sub-divisions and which together constitute the Kirat race whose antiquity dates back to the remote period of Indian history. Its being predominantly a region of mongoloid culture where the dominance of the Gorkhas is little felt, the Newars are the only people with their better standard of living and high material culture to enjoy a sense of superiority. This gives them an advantage for assuming the local leadership.

In the western Nepal, however, the Gorkhas predominate and the attitude towards the local life is always measured in

* The district-wise populations of the Newars is shown in brackets. These are unpublished figures and were obtained from the Nepalese Census Office in 1956. They are, however, subject to revision.

terms of their scale of value. In this part of the country the principal ethnic groups among which the Newars have to live are the Gurungs, ~~#~~ Magars and the Chhetris (former Khas). The Gurungs and the Magars are located in central Nepal just west to the Valley of Kathmandu. They have a preference for a certain type of attitudes; the former always occupying a higher altitude extending upto the snowy region. The latter dwell in the central temperate zone to the south of the former and extend right upto the inner tarai. The Chhetris are mostly concentrated in the far western Nepal. Here again the Newars dwell only at the district headquarters. These include: Noakot (5,818), Dhading (6,024), Gorkha (5,632), Tanham (9,594), Lamjung (1,841), Kaski (5,352) and Syanja Noakot (6,766), Palpa (5,785), Baglung (2,167) and Gulmi (2829). As we move still further west through the districts of Dailekh, Jumla, Doti Baitade and Dandel Dhura, which are the predominant centres of the Gorkhas, we find that the Newars are insignificant in numbers. Besides, this part of the country is barren and as such, there is little scope for the trading proclivity of the Newars.

Coming towards the south just below the eastern hills, the important places where the Newars are to be found ^{is} in Birat Nagar, Sindhuli Garhi, Udaipur-garhi and Berganj. But in none of these places do they number over 3,000. Another region in

this part of the country where their members are significant is in the town of Makwanpur where the population is 12,016. This is a place which lies on the route to the Valley of Nepal from the tarai and, therefore, is of great commercial importance. From the eastern tarai and inner tarai, when we move towards the west through the region just below the western hills, the only place which is of importance from the point of view of the Newar population is Butawal. Here the Newars number about 2,561. Butawal lies on the route to Palpa, the head quarters of the western hills. Therefore, this place is an important link between India and Western Nepal for commercial purposes. In other places of the Tarai, they are hardly to be found, especially in those regions where there is no commercial possibilities.

Within the Valley of Kathmandu, their home, the Newars form the highest percentage of the local population. They not only retain to this day their numerical superiority but also the predominance of their culture. The following table gives the population of the different ethnic groups in the Valley. This is based on the mother tongues.

Languages	Population	Percentage
Nepali	161,330	39.26
Newari	225,819	54.96
Tamang	18,048	4.64
Gurung	505	0.12
Magar	810	0.19
Rai & Limbu	115	0.03
Indians & Europeans	2,143	0.53
Bote-Lama	396	0.10
Danuwar	318	0.08
Others	387	0.09
Total	410,871	100.00

Of the total population of the Valley the Newars constitute as much as 54.96 per cent. The only ethnic groups whose numbers are significant next are the Nepali speakers (39.26 per cent) and the Tamangs (4.64 per cent). It is not possible to give the percentage increase of each of these ethnic groups as no Census data have been compiled in the past by the Nepal Government. It is, however, to be noted that Brian Hodgson in his time had estimated the population of the Gorkhas and the Newars to be at 3600 and 225000, respectively.^{29a} The Gorkha population was then mainly

^{29a} Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists, 1847 p.2.

composed of the soldiers. Thus it appears that the Nepali speakers have enormously increased their population. The rapid increase of the Gorkha population may be attributed to mainly to the practice of polygamy among them along with the practice of contracting morganatic marriage with the Newar women. In contrast, the Newars not only generally do restrict themselves to monogamy, but they also feel reluctant to accept wives from the other ethnic groups. Besides, the special laws which are still in existence in theory, forbidding the non-Gorkha men to take wives from the Gorkhas and the freedom to take wives from the Newar caste may have perhaps enabled the polygamous Gorkhas to add to their population. Formerly the tarai people of the Indian origin were totally barred from having a permanent residence in the Valley. Such restrictions having been withdrawn and the Valley being the main centre of employment for the Nepalese, it is attracting migration from all parts of the country, and therefore, the Newar population is exposed to the threat of still further reduction in its numerical strength in future.

As to the spatial distribution of Newars in the Valley, they are mostly concentrated in the towns of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon and in big hamlets such as Kirtipur, Panga, Themi, Sankhu, Thankot, Tokha, Phirping and Nagarkot. The following table shows their spatial distribution in terms of urban and rural areas.

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Urban Population	1,35,754	60.20
Rural Population	90,065	39.80
	-----	-----
Total	2,25,819	100.00
	=====	=====

Thus it would seem that urban dwelling comes natural to the Newars.

Of the three different towns, namely, Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon, they form respectively 68.44, 78.44 and 97.74 per cent of the local population. Thus Kathmandu is the most ethnically mixed zone where the Nepali speakers form a percentage of 28.32. In other towns the percentages of the Nepali speakers are: Patan (19.82) and Bhatgaon (1.91). The only mongoloid speaking group which is numerically significant is the Tamangs ^{who} dwell around the vicinity of the Valley. Being on the lowest rung of cultural ladder, it has little influence on the life of the Newars. Its low economic condition combined with a high social distance between them and the Hindus leave them with the status of labourer and as an unclean caste.

Outside the territory of Nepal the Newars are largely to be found in the three main centres - Darjeeling (including Sikkim), Bhutan and Lhasa. According to the

Census Report of India, 1951²⁹ the total speakers of Nepali in the first named district was 19,368. In 1911, their number was 6,980.³⁰ Thus during the last forty years they appear to have doubled themselves in this region.

Newar home on the border town of Battiah in Behar, there is reported to be a colony of Newar Christians whose forefathers had to leave the Valley of Kathmandu during the second half of the 19th Century. Not much is known about them as their manners and customs are reported to have totally changed under the weight of Christianity, their new faith.

The numerical strength of the Newars in Tebet is not known. The present writer's efforts at obtaining the population data from the Indian and Nepalese Consulates in Lhasa bore no fruit. Sir C. Charles Bell in 1924 had, however, estimated the Nepalese population in Lhasa to be between six and seven hundred. Since the only Nepalese, barring the staff-members of the Nepalese consulate, who go to Lhasa are the Udas Newars, we may take this figure as representing the population of Newars. But here again we have to take

29.^b Cen 545 Paper no 2, 1954, West Bengal & Sikkim, Part IV, p. 22

30. Census of India, 1911, Vol.V, Part I, Report, p.397.

into account a significant fact. According to the Nepalese rules of marriage a male progeny born of a Nepalese by union with a Tebetan woman is, by convention, recognised as a Nepalese whereas the female progeny as a Tebetan. Therefore, it is not improbable that the number of Newars might have been larger than what Bell had estimated during his days. At present, though no reliable data are available, a Newar friend of the writer, who owns a trading house in Lhasa estimated the present population of Newars in the whole Tebet to be around 20,000.

If we look at the nature of the distribution of the Newars outside the Valley of Nepal we find that this is governed by certain factors. In the first case unlike the Gorkhas, the Newars do not like to be rooted out of their social environment. Only under the stress of special circumstances do they take to migration; whereas the Gorkhas may migrate to any place and set up their home. The Newars are not much attracted by the tarai region, except a few among them mainly the Shresthas and the Manandhars who have trading and land interest in the tarai. The other classes of Newars dread the hot climate. Besides, the dependence of an individual on the institutional network expressed through feasts and ceremonies hardly encourages

him to be torn out of his own social environment and live in an alien land to make life emotionally miserable.

In the hills, ~~however,~~ the climate factor does not come into play as compared with the Tarai. Yet the eastern region has more Newars than the western region. The western region is much influenced by the Gorkha value and the Newars' sense of inferiority cannot be minimised. But in the eastern region the situation is different. This part of the country being the stronghold of the Kirata tribes, the Newars can assume the local leadership and occupy a far superior position of prestige in the local society. It is made much more possible by their better economic and educational conditions. Being mostly tradesmen, the Newars are very often ~~are~~ the local money lenders and have some economic control over the local tribal people.

The same factor explains the concentration of Newars in the Indian territory of Darjeeling and Sikkim, and in the semi-independent territory of Bhutan. Apart from such social considerations, economic reasons also play a vital part for the Newars coming to these regions.

The Newars present a pleasant appearance and their women-folk are especially noted for beauty. One authority

had described them as taller, slimmer and more swallow in complexions than the Gorkhas who are of low stature with good muscular chest and limb development. A Newar can easily be distinguished from the other ethnic groups of Nepal by their typically long oval and pulpy face. Their thin shoulder stands in contrast to the hardy mongoloid tribes of Nepal who generally have muscular and fleshy shoulders and limbs. The Newar nose is well formed, quite high bridged, tapering and convex. In some cases it appears to rise straight from the forehead. Generally the Newars do not have pronounced cheek-bones; nor an oblique eyes, though the eye lids may be fleshy. Despite such general characteristics, there is a great range of variation which moves from totally mongoloid to totally non-mongoloid. The physical characteristics also appear to vary from one region to another. Thus the Newars of Bhatgaon are taller. Variation is also seen as between the different castes. Thus the Duniya Newars indicate bulbous nose and are shorter in stature. The Manandhars are some what darker in colour and men of this caste, especially in the older generation, reveal such facial cast as is to be found in the north Behar.

With regard to anthropometric measurements, we do not have enough data. Marguerite Lobsiger-Dellenbach had carried out measurements in 1952 on 75 Newar individuals

^{31a} Imperial Gazetteer of India, op.cit., p. 41

(51 males and 24 females) in the Valley of Kathmandu. The results of her investigation are embodied in the Archives Swisses published from Rome in 1953. Taking into consideration ~~of~~ the measurements for head, nose, stature and total facial indices, Men have C.I.79.78, N.I.79.14, St.1577, F.I. 87.35. As between the Newars of the Kathmandu town and Holchouk (they are Duniyas), the men of the former region have C.I. 80.52, N.I.74.39, St. 1575, F.I. 91.54 and the latter C.I. 79.63, N.I. 84.39, St. 1564, F.I.84.53. That is to say the Duniyas have ^{proportionately} longer head, broader nose and are shorter in stature. On the whole, she describes the Newars as mesaticephalic, mesorrhine and mesoprosopic. We may, however, point out here that these data are not sufficient to throw light on the racial affinities of the Newars, since these ^{not only} ~~do not~~ relate to restricted number of individuals, but also overlook the caste-wise measurements.

The origin of the Newars is a controversial question. From their history and traditions we very clearly know that the present Newar population is a complex of many ethnic groups. The traditions of the individual castes fully suggest to us that the present Newars are drawn from the Abhiras, the Kiratas, the Lichhavis, the Vaishya Thakuri and the Karnatakas, apart from the fact that there might have been some ethnic

group which provided the foundation for the present Newar type. It is very difficult to say who were the fore-runners of the present Newars. There is not one tradition but many and these suggest fully the assimilation of diverse groups into a compact whole. But before we discuss this, let us take into consideration, the problem of the origin of the term Newar.

How the term Newar came to be applied to these people is not fully ascertainable. The views held by the different authorities in this respect seem to be based on the etymology of the term 'Nepal'. It is generally suggested that the term Newar came into existence in order to designate the inhabitants of Nepal. Sunit Kumar Chatterjee^{31^b} who holds such views says that through the current practice in Newari language of interchanging 'p' and 'l' respectively for 'w' and 'r' Nepal became Newar. Babu Ram Acharya, a noted Sanskrit scholar and historian of Nepal, holds somewhat a similar view. He suggests that the term Newar might have been originated from the term Nepar. He thinks that the Nepar might be the autochthones of the Valley, who probably belonged to Austro-Asian race. According to him it is quite natural for Nepar to become Nebhar and then finally Newar.³²

31^b. Kirata-Jana-Kriti, Op. cit. p. 183

32. Nepal Sanskritik Patrika, Kathmandu, Baisakh, 2009, No. 1, p. 2.

It is difficult to rely on such phonetic interpretations. Moreover, if the term Newar came into existence, as Chatterjee says, to designate the inhabitants of Nepal owing to the phonetic characteristic of Newari, one may also make a note of the current practice in Newari to designate people by reference to their habitat. At present the Newars designate the inhabitants by adding 'ai' or 'mi' suffix to the name of the country. As for instance the inhabitants of Khope (former name for Bhatgaon) are called Khopai', the inhabitants of Ya La (Patan), Yalai, the inhabitants of Ya(n) (Kathmandu), Yemi; the people of Sanga, Sangami, of Kirtipur, Kipumi and of Panga, Pangami. Consistent with the practice, the people of Nepal, should have been more naturally been called Nepai or Nepami and not Newar.

Newar tradition as set out in the Ancient Chronicles gives a different origin of the term and this has been mentioned earlier while dealing with the history of the country. It ascribes the currency of the term Newar to the coming in of the Karnatik prince, Nanya Deo. It further relates that the original Newars were drawn from the Nayars and were Brahma-Kshatriya. Looking to the fact that nowhere do we find the reference to the term Newar earlier than the period of Nanya Deo we have some reason to believe the traditional explanation. This explanation gets support from the current practice of the

Gorkhas who, while referring to the Newars, say Niyar. Whatever may be the truth, the possibility of the derivation of the term Newar from Nair may not be ruled out, though Silvan Levi has rejected such a traditional explanation.³³ It is not unlikely that when the Chalukyas of the South invaded north-India, they had in their armies men from the south. The Nairs being a military people in the early days,³⁴ it is possible that they constituted the bulk of the Chalukya's soldiery. The present Shresthas among the Newars are traditionally connected with Nanya Deo and they too were known to be soldiers in Nepal. We may, therefore, suggest that the term may have come into vogue with the introduction of the Shresthas. The cultural similarities between Malabar and the Valley are quite numerous and these are the additional factors which lend support to the traditional explanation. One among such is the similarity between the group of temples in Malabar and Nepal. Especially the ancient Siva temple, the Mahadeva Kovil of Beypore, south of Calicut, as pointed out by Percy^{Brown} is a deliberate copy of the double roofed Nepalese temple-architecture.^{34a}

Some of the geographical names in the Valley such as Godavari and Gokarna, and the great veneration shown by the Newars for serpents and the cult of Naga, bring the South-west India and Nepal culturally closer. Hodgson has pointed out that Wa-ve va, come and Sumaka, silent are perfectly the same in form and meaning both in Newari and the people of Nilgiri.³⁵ Besides, we should like to point out here that the wooden pulveriser used as agricultural implement by the Newars, it is understood, is similar to that now being used in Malabar. In Newari it

33. Le Nepal, Vol. I, p. 110. 34. Rao, M.S.A.-Social Change in Malabar, 1957, p. 14

34a. Indian Architecture (Buddhist & Hindu), Bombay, 1956, p. 161.

35. Miscellaneous Essays Relating to the Indian Subjects, Vol. II, 1880, p. 144.

is called Khatta Muga. The first word is definitely a Malayalam word which means pieces of earth. The same implement, we are informed, is called Katta Kol in Malayalam. Thus it would seem that ^{Some of the} items of the culture of the Valley bear a close similarity with South-west India. The institutions of marriage and family and religion, as have been described later, also suggest some traces of resemblance, however, remote these may be.

Though there is ample ground to believe in the traditional origin of the term Newar, it is not to say that the main contribution to the racial formation of the Newars is restricted to Malabar. Allowing enough scope for inter-mingling with the Mongoloids, which would explain some pronounced Mongoloid traits, the complex of the physical traits of the Newars approximates to Ghurye's Western type.³⁶ The traditions of the Newars also point out migrations from the regions where the Western type predominates. Cultural similarities between the Newars and the whole south-west India are to be amply found.

But the tradition that Manjusri peopled the country suggests very early migration from China. But how far reliance

36. Ghurye, G.S. - Caste & Class, 1957, p. 137.

may be placed on this tradition is difficult to say. That Manjusri came from China is disputable, since the same deity is worshipped as Manjusri and Śaraswati. However, this may suggest some early migration of the mongoloid people who intermingled to effect mongoloid modification in the Newar type.

Who were the autochthones of the Valley and what relationship they had with the Newars is not known. From the very early time the Kiratas have been regarded as the inhabitants of the Himalaya.³⁷ Their antiquity dates back to the Rigvedic time. Their references in the subsequent Hindu literatures, Epic and Classical, both show an early influence of such mongoloid people. Saletore and Shaffer both have identified these ancient people with the Rais and Limbus who now dwell in the eastern province of Nepal.³⁸ The traditional account of the Kiratas' rule over the Valley during the time of Gautama Buddha and Asoka is consistent with the tradition of Rais that their forefathers came originally from a lake whose waters had dried up.³⁹ In this connection it may be pointed out that the Gorkhas have a tradition that the Newars are the descendants of Kichak,

37. Shaffer, Robert, - Op. cit., p. 124.

38. The Wild Tribes in Indian History, p. 22; Shaffer, Op. cit., p. 124.

39. Hermanns, M. - The Indo-Tibetans, Bombay 1955, p. 7.

the Minister-General of Birat. We may also mention that Birat Nagar a place of considerable importance in the plain is quite near to the Valley of Kathmandu. When we take this into account with the tradition as reported by Hamilton, which identifies the Kirat with Kichak⁴⁰, we find some ethnic affinities of the Newars with the ancient Kiratas.

Another ancient tribe which invites our attention in this connection is the Murmi. It is a purely Mongoloid tribe and has its stronghold to the north of the Valley. They are also numerous in and around the Valley. Like the Kirantis of the east, they hold 'Kipat' land which has been handed down to them from time immemorial. They have been identified linguistically and geographically by Robert Shaffer with the ancient Tamara, along with Gurung and Thaksya.⁴¹ The Murmi who live in and around the Valley appear to have longish face and seem to be influenced by the Newars. At the same time the Mulmi section among the Newars suggests to be drawn from the Murmi, though there is a wide gulf - linguistic, physical and cultural. Attention may be invited to the fact that Bhimsen, the epic hero, is regarded as an important deity both by the Newars and the Tamangs. We, therefore, find that the Kiratas and the Murmi are not without their close ethnic affinities with the Newars who perhaps owe much to the former.

40. An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1819, p. 7.

41. Shaffer, R. - Op. cit., p. 134.

The round and small eyes very often to be found among the Jyapoos and others suggest such a contribution from these mongoloid tribes.

A third racial element is also suspected in the present Newar type. In the next chapter it will be seen that authorities are agreed ^{as to} ~~about~~ the view that the Tebeto-Burman languages of the Himalaya show substratum of Munda element. Among the present languages, some like that of Rais and Limbus still retain the characteristic pronominalisation, whereas the others have totally abandoned it. The Newari language ~~also~~ ^{also} has been found to contain such traces. This gives rise to the belief that some people allied to the Austro-Asian might be the autochthones of the Valley, who subsequently disappeared bequeathing their culture to the other people who ^bsupplanted them. Our attention is particularly drawn in this connection to some of the evidence other than linguistic. The overwhelming cult of Bhairava and Bhairavi in the religion of the Newars may be noted. The Duniya's connection with Akash Bhairava and ^{again} the tradition identifying the latter with Eklabya, the Bhilla prince, are the facts of additional significance. The Duniyas along with the Balami who also live in the Valley, suggest themselves as the earliest people of the Valley. The physical features of the Duniya (vide photographs Nos. 23-25) also appear to support our contention.

From Duniya, we come to Danuwar and between them the difference may be only of time. Vansittart lists Danuwar among the aboriginal races such as Kusuwar, Botya, Kumbha, Brahm, Manjhis etc., who were found in the lower hills.⁴² At present the Danuwar number about 9,138 and are to be found in the eastern hills and east inner tarai,⁴³ but just close to the Valley. We are informed that they have a tradition that they are the descendants of Karnatakas and call themselves Karnatak Vamsi.

Another tribe showing affinity with the Newars is the Pahari which disappeared from the Valley but are to be found in the lower hills in the east. The Pahari language has been described as a sub-dialect of Newari. The same language under two different names suggest affinities of Newars with the Pahari. The Pihi or Pahi section of the Jyapoo may be the former Pahari. Farther down in the tarai live the Tharus who bear some cultural similarities with the Newars.

Another ethnic group which is important to note is the Hayu or Vayu which are on the road to extinction. According to Campbell, their tradition tells that they

42. J.A.S.B., LXIII, Part I, 1895, p. 214.

43. Census Report of Nepal, 1952/54, p. 44.

originally came from Lanka, having left the country after the defeat of Ravana, but the Rakshasa King Ravana is still their hero.⁴⁴ They remained for a long time in Dakkhin and they came to Simrawn Garha in the days of its glory. Hodgson had noted them living in the state of nature north of Sindhuli⁴⁵ which falls on the way to the Valley from Simrawn Garha. The comparative absence of the cult of Rama among the lower castes of Newars and the current belief that Ravana had undertaken penance at Gokarna to please Gokarneshwar Mahadeva suggests some sentimental attachment of the Newars with the mythical leader of the non-Aryans.

Some of the cultural features connect the Newars with the Khasis and the Palaungs of Shan States. In the Chapter on Marriage and Family, the rituals of Gue-Sake-gu and Gue-Kae-bu strangely show similarity with the Khasis' custom of exchanging betel-nut. Leela Sachadeva observes: Khasi etiquette requires exchange of Kwai (betel-nuts) as a mark of good breeding, and if one fails to observe it he fails in good manners..... No social function is complete without it. The reception at the social gathering starts with it and social etiquette demands that 'Kwai' should be offered and taken for a correct leave, taking at the end.

44. Dalton, E.T. - Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, 1872, p 105

45. Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists, 1841, p. 2.

In the marriage ceremony, on the southern slopes of the Khasi hills, the exchange of Kwai by the groom and the bride is a major part of the celebration....." As in marriage, so in divorce, betelnut is used to symbolise the main objects of the ceremony".⁴⁶ Curiously enough not only is such use of betelnuts greatly common among the Newars, but also the Newari term 'Gue' is very nearly similar to the Khasi term 'Kwai'. Yet another cultural similarity with the Khasi is the settlement of dispute by water ordeal, which once existed in the Valley. Hodgson⁴⁷ reports about the means of settling dispute in Nepal which is very similar to that of the Khasis as described by P.R.T. Gurdon.⁴⁷

The disposal of the dead body of a bara girl among the Newars surprisingly resembles the practice among the Palaungs of the Shan States. Mrs. L. Milne says⁴⁸ that if a Palaung woman dies in child-birth, her body is hurriedly washed and dressed in new clothes, the coins are tied to the wrists and the usual food and other things are placed beside her in a new mat which is wrapped round her body. She is then lowered through a hole which has been cut in the flooring boards of the room where she died. She further reports that

46. The Eastern Anthropologist, Vol.XI, No.2, pp.107-112.

47. Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects, Vol. II, London, 1880, pp. 221-222.

48. The Khasis, London, 1914, pp. 94-95.

in front of the coffin, a man walks carrying a lighted torch, even if the sun is shining brightly.⁴⁹ As will be seen later the girl dying during her first menstruation is brought down by the Newars to the ground floor through the holes cut in the floors. The carrying of the lighted torch is also in practice. The Palanng Valley situated to the south of Kathmandu raises the question whether it has anything to do with the Palaungs of Shan States.

Thus it will be seen that the Newars are the people of diverse origins as their traditions reveal. While the pronounced mongoloid traits in them is contended, the sum total of their physical and cultural traits mark them out from the mongoloid people on the one hand and the Brahmanic Gorkhas on the other. Their affinities with the people of South-west India is not only suggested by their culture, but also by their traditions of migrations. We may, however, warn that a more detailed investigation is necessary before we come to any definite conclusion.

49. Sumner, W.G. & Keller, A.G. and Davie, M.R. - The Science of Society, Vol. IV, pp. 363-64.



1

A view of the Kathmandu Valley as seen from the Kirtipur hill-top.

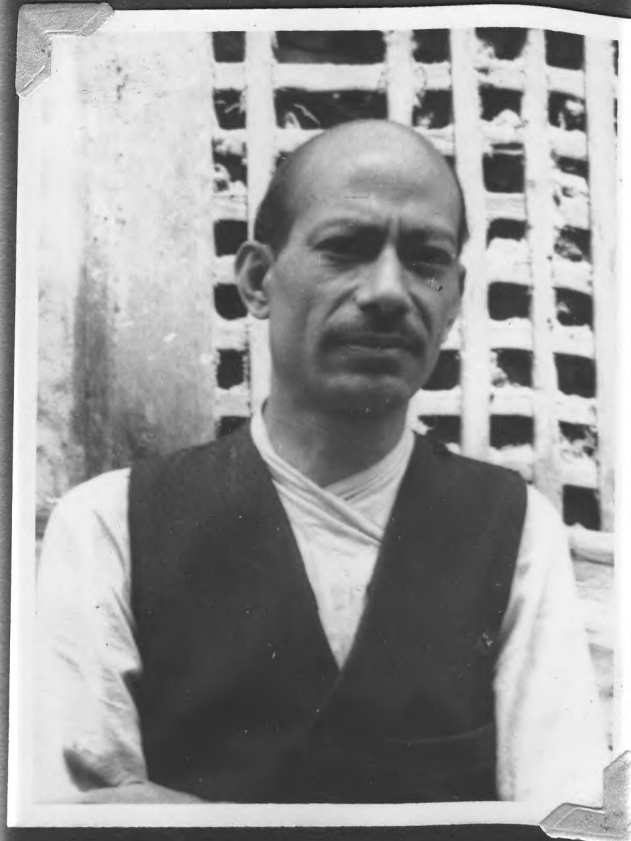
2

The Panga Village where the writer lived for the study of the peasant life of the Newars

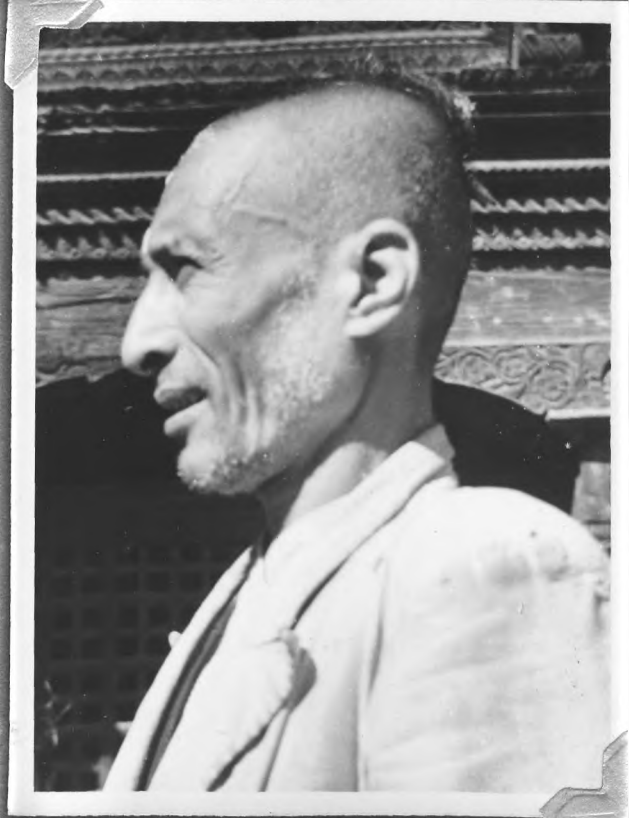


3

The house of the Duniya Newar with thatched roofs and stone walls (It contrasts with the common Newar house).



4a. Deo Bhaju Brahmin Priest (front view).
 4b. Deo Bhaju Brahmin Priest (side view)
 5a. Gubhaju (front view). 5b. Gubhaju (side view).

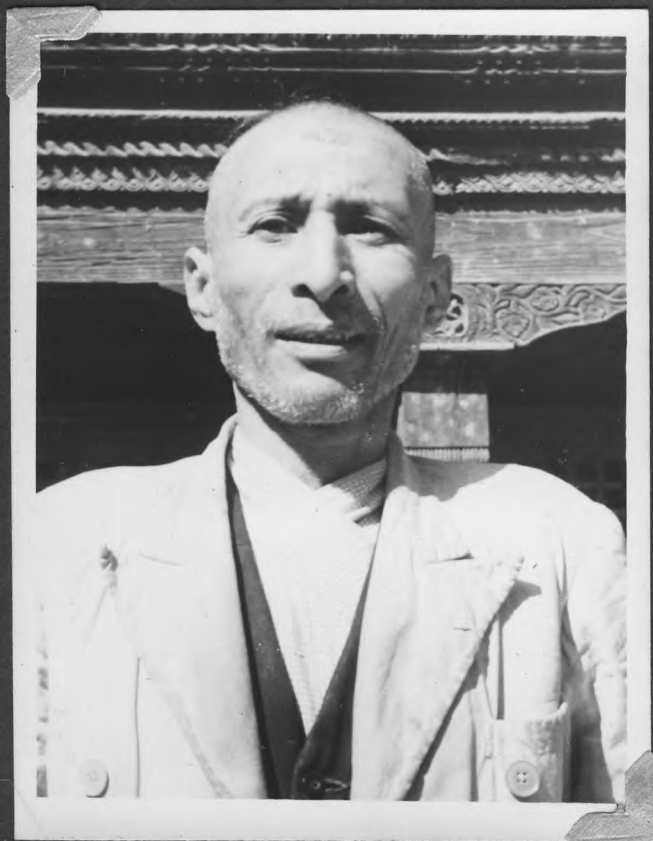


6. Gubhaju Lady. (Note the ear-ornament called 'tuci'.
 7. Gubhaju and Vanra children. 8. A Shrestha Newar Lady
 and children. (The girl holding a child is dressed in typical
 Newar fashion). 9. A Jyapoo woman with her baby. (The dress
 of Jyapoo women is totally different from the others. They
 always wear black lower garment with pleats upturned and 'V'
 shaped back. Also see Photograph No. 53 for back view).



10. A Joshi (Chhatharia Newar). (His face still indicates former Brahmanic affinity). 11. A Malla Newar youngman.

12. A Shrestha from Banepa with a man of Bhujel caste (left)
13. A Shrestha woman in traditional hair and dress style with her grand-children.



14a. A Shrestha (Raj Bhandri clan of the Chhatharia caste) (front view). 14b. Same (side view). 15a. A Shrestha of Bhatgaon (front view). 15b. Same (side view)



16a. An Udas Female.



16b. An Udas male.



16 c. An Udas Female (Back View)



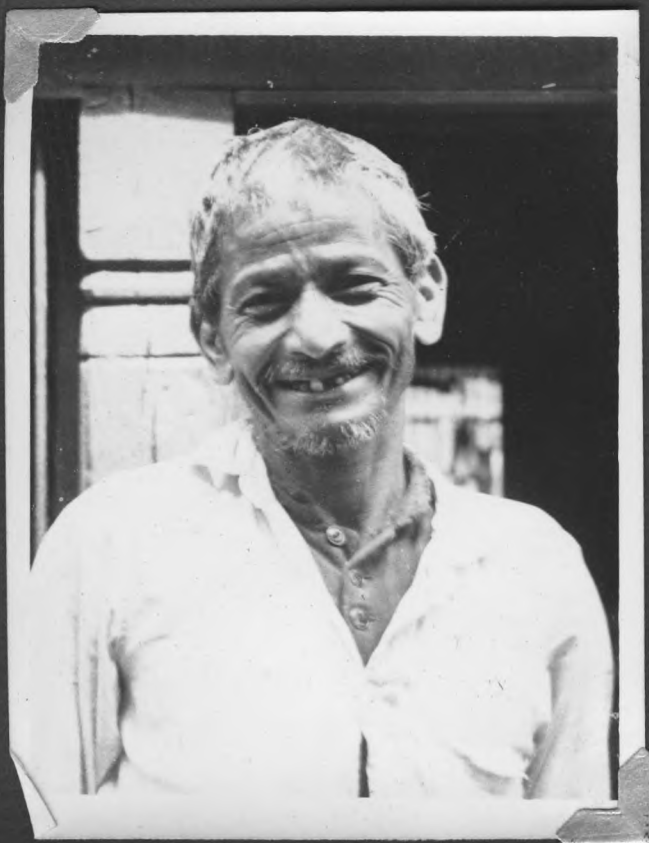
17a. A person of the Hale section (Jyapoo caste) (This section is found at Kila-gul in Kathmandu. 17b. Same (side view). 18a. A Jyapoo young man from the Kathmandu town. 18b. Same (back view)



19a. A man of Ranjitkar (Chhipa) caste. 19b. Same (back view)
20. A group of Manandhar or Salmi (oil-presser) caste. 21. A
man of Kasai caste.



22. A Balami man. (Men of this caste speak Newari, but form a separate tribe, lower in culture). 23. A Duniya man with his son and daughter. (Their physiognomy is suggestive of Munda substratum in the Newars' racial composition). 24. Side view of a Duniya girl. 25. Front view of two Duniya women.



26a. A Man of Chyame caste (front view). 26b. Same (side view)
 27a. A man of Sarki caste (Gorkha group)(front view). 27b. Same (side view)

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC AND MATERIAL LIFE

If you ask a Gorkha as to what occupation he likes the best, soon the reply comes - "employment in the army". Though agriculture is the primary basis of livelihood at home, his preference is entirely for a job in the army. If a similar question is put to a Newar, he would say, "Trade". Such occupational interests of these two communities which are totally oriented into two different directions constitute the basic difference in their temperaments relating to livelihood. However, this pronounced proclivity for trade is largely confined to the upper strata of the Newar society, whereas, the martial quality of the Gorkhas penetrates throughout their society. The bulk of the Newar population as represented by the Jyapoos has its occupational interest rooted in agriculture, and trade comes to it only as the second primary occupation. The Jyapoos take a great pride in being called a Kisan or Kisani in preference to the former appellation which has rather come to be associated recently with the idea of a labourer. Agriculture, therefore, is the primary means of sustenance for these people. The habitat also helps or even imposes this condition which affords the cultivation of all kinds of cereals. How

agriculture influences the life of the Newars may be seen not only from the festival of Machhendra which is regarded as the greatest of their festivals but also from the numerous rituals in which the importance of agriculture is amply reflected. Such importance can also be seen by the nature of the Newar settlements in the Valley of Kathmandu. Each settlement is surrounded by agricultural fields. Even the urban centre like Kathmandu commands such fields to its south-western side and the Jyapoos who live in this city go to work in the fields.

Love for land is so strong among these peasant Newars that only in an extremely adverse condition are they prepared to dispose of it.

Land is classified in many ways - according to the productivity of the soil which depends on the irrigability of the plot and according to the system of tenure. According to the first, there are three types of lands - Sem, Dome and Awl. Sem is that type of land which is situated on the higher elevation and which is not subjected to irrigation; such lands are mainly used for the dry crops. Dome is an intermediate variety which has some possibility of irrigation; and the awl is the best type of land which is flooded by the rivers and streamlets. The last two types of lands are used

for the cultivation of summer crops, mostly paddy. Again from the point of view of crops, there are two kinds of lands 'Khet' and 'Bari'. The first is for the cultivation of paddy and wheat, whereas the second for dry crops such as millets.

The system of land tenure gives rise to three principal varieties of land - Raikad, Birta and Guthi. Raikad land is owned by the state and there is no intermediary between the tiller and the owner. Birta is mostly owned by the non-cultivating land-owners who give it for tillage to the peasants either on a rental basis or on crop sharing basis. The birta land is predominantly owned by the non-Newars, especially by the members of the Rana aristocracy. There are also quite a good number of Newars ^{who} own birta lands. The Gorkhas who live in the Valley also own Birta in lieu of their services rendered in the army. A sub-variety of Birta is called Nole which requires, apart from the payment of rent, the supply of free labour by the tiller to the owner.

The Guthi variety of land is also a rent free land owned by the various Guthis. Such lands are not only consecrated to temples and religious organisations but also charitable purposes. The incomes accruing from such lands

are utilised for the furtherance of religious and social cause. Most of the Guthi lands owned by the Newars are associated with the Sana-Guthi and Dewali Guthi and their numerous sub-varieties. Therefore, the ownership in this respect is confined to caste and consanguineal groups. It is such landed property of the Guthis that provide the expenses for the Newar feasts.

The amount of rent paid for the use of land varies according to the quality of land. The Awl type of land has the highest rent. The maximum rent to be paid for this type is about a quarter and a rupee per ropani; and for the most inferior land, the Sem, the rent is minimum. It is about three-fourth of a Nepali half-rupee. The traditional mode of payment of the rent used to be in terms of crops, which is still practised in many cases. The payment of cash towards rent is a recent innovation in the Valley, though it existed in the tarai since long ago. Even for the payment of cash, the amount is calculated on the basis of crops. At present it is fixed at one rupee per four Pathis. As for example if a tenant paid 20 pathis in the past as rent, he now pays rupees five only.

Whatever may have been the system of land ownership and its succession among the Newars in the past, now-a-days

it is not different from that of the Gorkhas. It is based upon the agnetic principles, It is owned in two ways - collectively in the form of Guthi land and also individually. As regards inheritance, it passes through father to son. Male relatives within three degrees of consanguinity inherit in preference to daughters.¹ Children in lawful wedlock take a larger share than the others whose share comes to 1/6 of the former. Children of different wives take per capita and not as representatives of their mother;² unmarried daughters also get an equal share. But on marriage their shares revert to their brothers. In the Guthi type of land an individual has only the right to have a share in the crops. Such lands are cultivated and looked after by each of the member families by rotation.

Agriculture, in the Valley of Kathmandu, largely depends on the rain. The rivers are not so useful as they go dry during the summer season. But with the oncoming of rain they become useful and form an irrigation network. The value set up on agriculture is primarily due to such heavy rainfall. The Newar peasants are quite skilful in tapping the rain-water into large catchments located on the flat tops of the hill and directing it into numerous narrow

1. Landon, P. - Nepal, Vol. II, p. 176.

2. Ibid.

channels to irrigate their fields. During the rainy season, and if the rain is timely, there is, however, hardly any need of the water collected in such tanks. Because all the rivers in the Valley get swollen and flood the low lying lands. Besides, the countless streams force their way down the Valley from the higher elevation of the surrounding hills. Such streams are made to irrigate the terraced fields lying on the slopes. When the rain fails, the hill top reservoirs whereⁿ rain water of the preceding year is collected are the only sources for keeping the fields wet. But now-a-days, these tanks have been taken over by the Government to provide the drinking water to the local population. Therefore, the failure of rain poses a great problem to the agricultural needs of the Newars. To find a solution of such problem is beyond the power of human effort in the existing circumstances. The only hope is the god and especially Machhendranath, the guardian deity of the Nepal, which presides over agricultural prosperity of its people. This is how Newari peasant thinks.

For a good harvest, rain should start in the beginning of Asadh. The general belief is that the transplantation of paddy must be completed by the fifteenth of Sravan. Not even a single Newar is prepared to prolong it beyond that date, since it is taken to bring upon illluck

upon the person concerned. If the rain is behind the schedule, the anxiety of the Newar peasants, therefore, knows no bound. The invocation to gods and goddesses pre-occupy the activities of the peasants leading to the artificial rain making rituals.

The ritual ^{of praying} asking for rain ^{to} from the gods goes by the name of 'La-Pya-Ke-gu'. It is a collective function in which the entire village participates. As for example, in Panga, the date and the timing is decided upon in a meeting of the Thakalis of the various agnatic groups. On the appointed day, a person of the Pore caste goes round the village beating a drum and announcing the holding of 'La-Pya-Ke-gu'. From every household two 'manas' of 'Bajee' and half a rupee are collected to meet the expenses. Then in the afternoon all the male residents assemble at the central square of the village with their respective caste musical instruments to take out a procession to the temple of Machhendra for worship. The procession is arranged into five groups, each of which visiting a different godling associated with the village welfare. On such occasions, the Kaha(n) musical instrument, also known as Indra-Baja, is most essential.

The procession first proceeds to the temple of Ganesh in the village, where worship is done and a ^mrain or goat is sacrificed on behalf of each of the 'Sana Guthis'. From there they then break off into five different groups as mentioned earlier. Having propitiated the different godlings of the village they meet at a place outside the village and then proceed together to Bungamati for the worship of Machhendra Nath. After worship a shirt is offered to the deity. Then the members of the procession engage themselves in throwing water first at the idol of Machhendra and later among one another. While returning, the procession proceeds to the Tau-dah tank, the abode of Karkotaka Naga which is worshipped by a Gubhaju priest. Subsequently as main part of its propitiation, a pair of silver and gold serpents are dropped into the tank and the people hold the belief, as stated elsewhere, that as soon as these metal snakes are put into the water, they become live and begin to swim. The members of the processions return home shouting the slogans, "O Lord Mahadeo, give us rain". It is to be noted here that the slogan is in Nepali language and not in Newari. Finally when they enter the village they play at the water-throwing again. For this purpose every house stores water in big copper vessels and keeps these vessels on the balcony as well as at the entrance of the house. The latter is meant for the use of the members of the procession. All the

inmates of the house, mostly the females, throng^{up} in their respective balconies and throw water over the procession below. The latter also throw water up at the balcony. After such exchange of water-throwing in each locality, the procession again visits the village-godlings and finally disperses on reaching the central square. In the evening a big feast is held under the auspices of the different Sana Guthis in which even a small child participates. It is commonly believed that after such rain-making ritual, there is sure to be a rainfall.

There are other traditions observed in connection with the praying for rain. One among these is the milking of cows on the dry bed of the river Bagmati. The milk is used for preparing 'Kheer' and offered to the Sadhus. Worship of the Nagas and the performance of 'hawan' at the temple of Pashupati are some of the additional recourses adopted for dispelling the draught.

The method of cultivation is quite simple. It does not involve the use of the plough, ~~and~~ nor the elaborate process as found in India. It requires only human labour with the help of a digging hoe called 'Ku' ^(photograph 31) in Newari and Kodali in Nepali (which is Kodai in the Northern Behar). The implements and tools beside the 'Ku' include the large

digging hoe (Kuki-cha), the spud (Khurpi), the wooden pulverizer (Khatta-Mugal*), the hatchet (Pa), the sickle (In), basket (Khumu), the bangi-pole (No or Nole) and the winnowing fan. It is to be noted that, although the non-Newar farmers such as the Magars and Gorkhas are very particular in using the plough in cultivation not only in the Valley but also over the hills where the level of the fields is not so much suited for the purpose, the Newars stick to their tradition of the non-employment of the plough. The handling of plough is enough for a person being excommunicated from the caste. Such a cultural trait is definitely not due to the compassion for animal, since the Newars are known to be great consumers of animal flesh; and animal sacrifice is the core of their ceremonial and religious life.

Again the non-employment of plough does not appear to be attributable to the influence of Buddhism. Firstly, because the Buddhist Newars do not differ from their Hindu brethren^e in the sacrifice and consumption of animals; secondly, because the Shrestha Newars who are Hindus should find no objection like the Gorkhas to the use of plough. Chattopadhyaya thinks that the non-employment of the plough was in the early history the result of technological

* The word 'Khatta' bear a close sound-resemblance with the Malayali word 'Katta' which means large pieces of earth. The Malayali peasants have a similar tool called 'Katta-Kola'.

backwardness as the plough was not known to the inhabitants of the Valley.³ This was, he says, subsequently kept out by strong conservatism and probably due to some hostility to the people in contact who possessed the necessary knowledge. He gets support for this from no less an authority than the Chinese traveller Huen Tsang who stated that the Valley people were ignorant of the use of oxen.⁴ Whatever be the truth in this statement, the present writer would like to suggest that if not the primary factor, at least the most important force that made the plough agriculture an unknown operation in Nepal was the past social ambition of the Jyapoos, the cultivating class. It is well known that the great Lichchavis who ruled over India as Guptas had some lowly brethren who by all consensus of opinion is identified with the Jyapoos. So they shunned the plough, since such occupation would have been against the status of the Kshatriya. The present non-employment of oxen may suggest as the continuation of such a state of affair.

Despite the fact that the plough is not used and that the agricultural operation is simple, a Newar farmer is an expert cultivator. He raises more crops than an Indian farmer if both were to be assigned the same size of

3. J.A.S.B. Vol. IXX, 1923, pp. 527-28; p. 552.

4. S. Beal - Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, London, 1884, pp. 80, 81.

plots in their respective regions. B. H. Hodgson, while observing in his time remarked that the Newars were the best cultivators in Asia.⁵ In the same plot, the Newar farmer raises at least two main crops and two subsidiary ones. He never allows the field to lie fallow for more than a month or two. His skilfulness lies in the mixed farming. As for example, during the paddy season, in addition to the main crop, he raises vegetables such as potatoes and tomatoes on the outer-ring of the plot, which would have been otherwise wasted. In winter, the same field is used for the wheat cultivation, immediately after the paddy harvest. Similarly in the dry plot (Bari) a variety of crops such as maize, pulses, sugar-cane and Kodo are raised, but always making a selection of two crops only.

The traditional source of manure for a Newar peasant is the black clays called Kali-mati. These clays are dug out from beneath the field and spread into heaps over the fields just before the monsoon and levelled over the field. The digging out of these clays involves a great risk as the deep pit at times gives way and the soil diggers are fatally caught inside. But to the Newar farmers, it is a small risk looking to the value of agriculture.

5. Hodgson, B.H. - ~~Miscellaneous Essays Relating to the Indian Subjects, Vol. V.~~ *Essays the First: On the Kacch, Bodo and Dhuma Tribes, Calcutta, pp 199. (1847)*

Another principal source of manure is the animal and human dung. Since cattle are rare owing to the absence of pasture, this type of manure is largely supplied by the population of the Valley. Human dung, therefore, has a value in the Valley. The Chyame collects it and puts over the fields on requisition by the Jyapoo farmers for which the normal rate is half a rupee per Kerosene-oil tin.

Cultivation is of two kinds - plain cultivation and terraced cultivation. The latter is adopted on the slopy fields. Such fields are divided into plots which appear like terraces. About a foot high embankment is raised at the bottom of each of the fields so as to retain water in it. When sufficient water has been retained in the field lying at the higher elevation, the lower field is irrigated through the inter-connecting outlets. This irrigation system is carried to the lowest plot so as to distribute the available water properly.

Coming to the agricultural operation, it starts with the digging of the black soil. In one of the corners of the field a large pit is dug and the black soil is collected into heaps. This operation takes place during the months of Falgun and Chaitra. By the time Jaistha approaches, the wheat crop is ready for the harvest. Immediately after its harvest, maize and pulses are sown

in the Bari or dry lands. In many cases the outer ring of the plot is reserved for the sowing of the black soyabean. At the approach of Asadh, there is a little rain which renders the turning up of the soil easy. While the men do the digging, the women break the soil and level the field with the wooden pulverisers (Khatta-Munga). (Photo 29). The paddy seeds are sown at the same time in a plot especially prepared so as to have the seedlings, about half a foot high after a fortnight or so. Towards the middle or the last week of the same month, when there is enough rain fall, the transplantation of the seedlings begins. The uprooting of the seedlings is a taboo for the women and it is the men only who do this job. The women then plant these seedlings into the main fields. (Photo 32)

Rice transplantation is an occasion when co-operation among the members of the different classes and caste is manifested. When one has finished one's own rice transplantation, he goes to help his neighbours for which he or she gets a rupee per day. It is also a time for mirth and gaiety, when the Newars engage themselves in feasts. All social distinctions are overlooked and the workers sit together in the same rows to eat their mid-day meals. Buffalo-meat, Bajee, and the Tho(n) are the essential items of the feasts to be provided in such agricultural feasts. It is here that Newar farmers differ from the Gorkha

farmers who do not serve liquor in the mid-day meal. Again, there is another cultural difference between the two communities. The transplantation of the paddy in the case of the latter is accompanied with agricultural songs which are, however, not to be met with among the Newars.

After the work of transplantation, the Newar peasants undergo the purificatory rite called 'Sinja Benke'. The idea involved in it is that during the transplantation period, a person's caste is polluted, since he has to eat his mid-day feasts along with others, ignoring the caste distinctions. Such laxity in caste restriction is not to be met with among the Gorkhas in this connection. An additional feature which marks the Newar transplantation work from that of the Gorkhas is the equal distribution of work between the two sexes, whereas in the case of the latter, the work is almost entirely done by their female-folk, except the ploughing. This is at least so in the Valley of Nepal.

The fifteenth of Sravan marks the completion of the transplantation work. Every Newar must complete the work by this date as it is believed by them that if it is prolonged further than this date, it is not a good omen. Like human beings the fields are also subject to the influence of evil

spirits, which lead them to the propitiatory activity on this day known as 'Byancha Janake', described elsewhere.

In the second half of Sravan the farmers are engaged in stamping out the weeds as also the cultivation of 'Kodo'. In Bhadra, the maize crops are harvested and side by side weeding is continued in the paddy fields. In the month of Ashwin, some of the Newar farmers harvest the 'Khanj' paddy which ripens earlier. This paddy is grown around the main field. This is also the time when the excess water drained out of the paddy fields. The main harvesting of the paddy is done during Kartik. This month, together with the month of Margsir, is marked side by side by the cultivation of wheat. It includes, the digging of the field, and the weeding and sowing of wheat. During Paush and Magh, the farmers engage themselves in the cultivation of vegetables among which Potato, 'Palak', Cowli-flowers, cabbages, raddishes are to be especially noted. Thus the whole year the Newar farmers are busy in the agricultural work.

The paddy is processed into two kinds of rice. These are 'Hakuwa' and 'Tauli'. The Hakuwa rice has a ritual value among the Newars and it is generally believed that, when cooked, it increases in quantity. For its preparation, the paddy stalks, when cut, are allowed to remain in the

field for about a fortnight. Afterwards the farmers go to the fields and separate the grains from the stalks by beating them on the ground. Unlike in north India, the Newars do not employ bullocks to crush the grains out of the stalks. The process of separating the grains is itself a ritual which has to be accompanied in the middle with the eating of 'Samai'. The paddy-stalks are also offered 'Samai' and tho(n). These are believed to represent the goddess Laxmi. After the winnowing, the paddy is filled in baskets and carried home.

The person who carries the paddy home never stops on the way, as it is the belief that it should not be placed anywhere other than in one's own house. On reaching home, the man bringing the paddy stands at the door for the ritual-welcome. The chief lady of the house puts a teeka on his forehead and offers flowers to the grain before it is carried inside.

Despite such hard labour and skilful cultivation the Newar farmers are not quite well off, though they are well dressed and well housed. The total produce of the year is hardly enough to meet the domestic requirements after making a deduction for the rent of the land. In the Panga village, there are only a few families who reported to the writer to be self-sufficient. The misery is much

more enhanced by the traditional necessity of providing the feasts of the year. Of the 49 farmer families, about whom data are available regarding the size of the holding, and annual produce, only eight (18.38 per cent) reported that they had enough for the year. The average land per household, including the 'Bari' comes to 8.06 ropani. The average yield per ropani comes to paddy: 2.42 murhi; wheat: 0.26 murhi; and Millet: 0.24 murhi. Roughly speaking, an individual consumes at least six murhi of rice in a year, whereas the gross yield per individual comes to only 3.67 murhi. When the quantity of grain to be paid by way of rent is taken into consideration, the total produce falls still shorter of the total annual requirement. Such deficit is not due to the poor annual yield, but due to the smaller size of the holding. Besides, in most of the cases the Jyapoos are merely tenants and not the owners of the land. The majority of the lands in the Valley are in the form of Birtas owned by the richer section of the local inhabitants and in many of these cases, the Jyapoo farmers have to share half the annual produce. The growing population is making greater demand for residential sites, as a result of which extensive farming is becoming a remote possibility. The hard-working capacity of the Jyapoo Newars, however, enables them to make for the deficit by taking to side occupation, such as weaving and spinning, carpentry and working as casual labourer.

Besides trade and agriculture, handicrafts constitute the third main group of occupations which give livelihood to the Newars. It includes metal-working, carpentry, house-building, weaving, oil-pressing and liquor distilling, pottery and many others. These occupations still continue to be the hereditary means of livelihood of the special groups. All kinds of artisan work is broadly distinguished into two categories - one relating to religious objects and another for domestic use. The first three 'excluding the iron-working' are confined to the three upper castes of the Newars. In these the Newars have a monopoly as competition is rare; ^{and} since there is no such specialised group of craftsmen among the other ethnic groups of Nepal. They, therefore, cater to the needs of all the people in the Valley. They are found earning their livelihood as goldsmiths and workers in copper and bronze metals even in the far distant places in the country.

Weaving now-a-days does not constitute the main source of livelihood. It is a household occupation which is followed by all. In the villages every Jyapoo and Shrestha household owns its own spinning wheel and looms. It helps to supplement the family income. So far as the Jyapoos are concerned, they have a preference for the home-spun cloth, especially their women folk always wear

the clothes spun in their own households. But weaving is, however, receiving a set back owing to the increased cost of imported cotton and free import of Indian made cloth which is cheaper and of good texture. The technique of weaving and spinning in Nepal has been briefly summarised by K.P.Chattopadhyaya⁶ from the original source and this description is still applicable to the Newar's weaving apparatus. (Please see photograph). It is still quite common to observe only the females working at these looms. The importance of spinning and weaving is reflected in a Newar ceremony. As mentioned elsewhere one of the dowry-articles which the parents have to present to a daughter at her marriage is a spinning wheel. Though weaving is not done by the high caste Newars of the Urban centres, the traditional importance in the ceremony still exists, even among them.

Iron-working is an important source of livelihood only for a few Newars who are known as Kow. He mostly makes agricultural implements and house articles. The demand of the latter type of articles is gradually being replaced by the new ones which are imported. Therefore, the only work that the iron workers have to do now is to supply the agricultural implements.

6. J.A.S.B., Vol. IXX, 1923, p. 485.

Pottery, tile-making and brick-making are another set of hereditary occupations. The Newar potteries are of innumerable varieties (Photograph Nos. 47 & 48) and the skilfulness shown by them cannot be competed by any other group. This occupation thrives because there is still a great demand for earthenwares in the Valley. The earthen-pots have a variety of use both for the ceremonial and domestic purposes. The Newars of lower economic groups use earthen pots for almost all domestic use.

The process of pottery-making and the implement used is the same as found in India. (Photograph No. 46). A lump of clay is put over a revolving potter's wheel and the potter with his skilful hand manipulates the desired shape of the earthen pot. The raw earthen pots are dried in the sun and later burnt to make them red and hard. The fine variety of clay found in the Valley gives an advantage to the potters for making articles of durable quality. This occupation is more concentrated in the region of Theml and Bhatgaon from where the potter-cum-dealer goes to the other regions to sell the goods. Generally the mode of payment is in the form of foodgrains for which the potters have a special preference.

Another important occupation which follows in the scheme of hierarchy is the oil-pressing. It is an important occupation only for the Manandhar caste which is known in its occupational capacity as Salmi. Oil is pressed out of the mustard seeds which is the only edible oil among the Nepalese. Besides, since mustard seeds and mustard oil also form ceremonial items in the Newar ceremony, the importance of oil-pressing occupation is great. Mustard seeds are obtained from the Jyapoo farmers. These mustard seeds are first baked and then oil is pressed out of it. Strangely enough the occupation of oil pressing, unlike the foregoing ones, which are household occupations, is a co-operative endeavour.

The oil-mill is jointly owned by the member-householders of the locality where it is situated and production is effected on a commercial scale. Unlike in India, the mill is not driven by the bullock or any kind of animal labour. Human labour is the only power to drive these mills. It is perhaps this that necessitated the joint partnership in this occupation. The significance of the oil mills is such that even the localities are named after them.

As in other spheres of Newar life, the oil mill too is subject to the influence of evil spirits. So a mill is always protected by a buffalo's skull hung above the entrance. Periodically it is offered worship and a buffaloe sacrificed on the Dashehera day. The oil mill functions as the fulcrum for intra-household solidarity of the co-operating households.

Milk-selling is curiously enough becoming gradually an important occupation of the Kasai, beside his main occupation of selling the buffalo meat. Though the former Ahir or Abhiras who are now known as Hale or Gua (corrupt form of Guala) are the traditional cattle breeders and milk-vendors, their main occupation is now agriculture. The Gorkhas, especially their agricultural section, generally keep their own cows and, therefore, as milk-man there is no separate class or caste among them, which can depend on such means of livelihood.

Leather-working as a means of livelihood has passed into the hands of the Sarki, who belongs to the Gorkha group. The Kullu, the Newar leather worker, can earn his livelihood by merely attending to ^{the} skinning of the dead animals and by repairing ~~the~~ shoes. They are unable to withstand competition from the Sarki.

Occupations such as shaving, domestic services and washing of clothes are sectional, and give livelihood to a few persons. Domestic service is mainly confined to the Jyapoos. There being no practice of employing a domestic servant, it is not an important means of livelihood. Work as casual labourer, palinquine-bearer and load-carrier are some of the subsidiary occupations which are monopolised by

the Jyapoos. Tailoring is a subsidiary means of livelihood for the Vanras and the Kusle.

Lastly a very important means of livelihood, not of hereditary nature, is that of employment in the Government services. Till recently when the normal practice was to employ people in the Government services mostly from among the residents of the Valley, the Newars enjoyed a special advantage since most of the clerks and officials came from their community. This was all the more rendered comfortable owing to the preference of the Gorkhas for the military service which was denied by law to the Newars. A change having come over in the political set up of the country, government services are now open to all the people drawn from the various parts of the country. The formerly existing easy situation is no more to be found and such means of livelihood is now-a-days a matter of serious competition. Nevertheless, the comparative greater facility for education in the Valley, aided by the good financial capacity to educate one's sons and daughters, along with the advantage of being the local residents, the higher class Newars still find employment in the Government services as an occupation next in importance only to trade. Besides, the professional means of livelihood as teachers and doctors are some of the new avenues opened for those Newars who can afford such specialisations.

The structure of hereditary occupations is rapidly undergoing a change. Such a change does not lie so much in the abandonment of one type of hereditary occupation in favour of another as in acquiring a new type of secular occupation under the changing political and social set-up. The legal privileges of dominating one social group by another with the state recognition of caste-hierarchy having gone, there is absolute occupational mobility, except among the priests and the untouchables. Educated classes of Newars are more in favour of the secular occupations. The metal and wood-working occupations being in the hands of the higher castes, the specialisation and the great skilfulness acquired in these fields are bound to languish, since they have the best opportunity and means for higher education which naturally favours an intellectual and modern type of occupation. The process of traditional knowledge and expertness being handed down from father to son in matters of arts and architecture is threatened, since educated men have a despising tendency towards such hereditary avocations.

From the occupation we come to the settlement of the Newars. The Newars are an urban community and whether they live in the towns or in the villages, their settlements always reveal an urban character. In the Valley of Kathmandu, the settlement is built on high grounds or on the flat tops

of the hills which are not useful for agricultural purposes. The important settlements such as the towns of Kathmandu, Patan, Bhatgaon and Sankhu are in addition located on the banks of the rivers. The settlements are mostly spread without any particular pattern with regard to direction. They are generally lengthwise with a narrow main street which is intercepted at both sides by the lanes running parallel to it. The streets and lanes are paved with bricks or stones. A Newar village can be easily spotted out by the houses with brickwalls and tiled roofs, which are linked with one another by the common walls in between the two houses. The clustering of houses and their physical compactness are the features characteristic of the Newars' gregarious living. Very rarely would the Newar houses be seen scattered like that of the Gorkhas. Settlement is also an indication in Nepal of the ethnic compactness of the different communities.

At the approach of a Newar village an observer is struck by its three main important features: the village Pati, (public resting place) which stands at each of the approaches to it, the Bhau-Pwa, a window-like opening on the roof of the house (~~Bhau-Pwa~~) and the tanks (Daha). The Patis are especially important during the festival time when the deities are placed there before they are brought inside

the settlement. Each settlement has a few tanks or atleast one for the use of the inhabitants for bath and washing the clothes.

The settlement is divided into a number of parts known as toles*. As for example the Panga village is made up of thirteen toles. An alternative term 'Khel' is also used to designate such various parts. In the town of Bhatgaon which represents the typical Newar urban settlement the term used to designate the tole is simply 'Chhe' which in Newari means 'house'.

In each settlement there is generally a temple each of Ganesh, Saraswati, Bhairava, Narain and Mai (mother goddess) which form the part of the village life. In addition there is a Chaitya located in each tole or locality. Each tole has its own 'pati' which is used as a common resting place and for the holding of tole-concerts. Every locality has an important place called Chhwasa at the crossing of two lanes where the objects connected with the evil spirits (Please see Chapter on Religion) are thrown. Another important feature of the Newar settlement is the prescribed route for the funeral procession and the spot known as Murda-Do-pat. Quite close to the settlement there is the crematory ground

* Compare it with the tola used in the Behar villages.

where the corpses are burnt. The location of cremation is marked for each caste separately. Each settlement has a central square for the purpose of collective events, social and religious.

The Newar settlement is also marked by the residential compactness in relation to caste. Each caste or group lives in its own tole and more often than not the tole is named after it. The pattern of caste location closely follows the principle of social distance. Generally in the centre of the settlement lives the priest of the presiding deity, surrounded by the top caste Newars such as the Chhatharia and the Shresthas. They are again encircled by the Jyapoo caste, which is followed in turn by the low castes according to their gradations. Untouchable caste does not have its residence within the village boundry, but is located a little distance away. As for example, in the Panga village in the centre live the Shresthas, and the Jyapoos, around them. The barber lives on the eastern outskirt, the blacksmith on the northern, and the Kasai on the south-eastern. The Pore lives a little distant away to the south.

The foregoing description of the Newar settlement applies more or less to all the towns of the Valley. All such features are still to be seen even with respect of the

town of Kathmandu which has outgrown its traditional boundry and become much intermixed in residential grouping. The concentration of one caste in one particular locality or tole is an index to its traditional pattern in the past. Dr.Oaldfield has very ably described the lay-outs of these cities as they existed during the period of Newar Kings.⁷ During these old days each city was surrounded by a high wall containing large gateways at its different parts. These gates used to remain closed in times of danger or attack. The sites of these gates are still traceable in the town of Kathmandu. The number of gateways corresponded exactly with the number of toles, each gate-way being associated with a particular square and placed under *the* municipal control of the local authority for repairs and defence. In each city, the most important building was, and still is, the royal place situated in the central part with a cluster of temples. Then come the buildings of the royal courtiers and of the high caste Newars to be followed by those of the other castes in order of their social status.

Lighting of the street and lanes were perhaps a collective responsibility of the inhabitants, which used to be done during the festivals. For there still exists today

7. Oaldfield, S. - Vol. I, op. cit. p. 95, sqq.

the practice of hanging the earthen lamps from the eaves of the individual house during the festivals which are sufficient enough to make the road lighted.

Outside, the Valley of Kathmandu the Newar settlement takes slightly a different shape. They are situated on the hills and at such vantage points as the highways where the trading proclivity of Newars can find ample scope. Therefore, the Newar settlements outside the Valley is a bazar (market) settlement, spread alongside the road in an oblong way. The ground floor serves for running the shop whereas the upper floors are used for the residential purposes. Generally such settlements are called 'Hatia' by the local non-Newars and it is connotative of the market character of the settlement, since 'Hat' etymologically means a market place.

Despite the urban features of the settlement as marked by the skilful architecture, brick-houses of many storeys and streets and lanes laid with stones, which suggest the high material culture, the Newars appear to be ignorant of the need for drainage. It is not explainable as to how such an important aspect of the city settlement as the drainage have slipped away from the body of their knowledge regarding material culture. Dr. Oaldfield during his times observes, "..... stagnant gutters on each side of the road, running immediately below the house-fronts do the duty of scavengers and into them most of the filth and refuse of

the adjacent buildings find their way".⁸ Even today, the quadrangle which face the backside of the house, known as 'Chuka' is used for throwing refuse and filth as was in the old days. Such quadrangles also serve in the majority of cases, as the place for throwing stool. On enquiry with a municipal councillor of Kathmandu it is gathered that as a result of the deposition of such filth, through inconsiderable years, these quadrangles have been filled up as high as the level of the first floor, about eight to fifteen feet in height. Recently modern drainage system was introduced by the Government in the towns of Kathmandu and Patan. But so far as the other places are concerned the settlements still retain their traditional disregard for sanitation.

In the villages, however, the lack of drainage does not create a problem, though ^{drainage} it is much desirable. The settlements being located on high grounds, rain water is quickly passed down. But the deposition of filth in the backyards is still a disturbing feature. As compared to the towns ^{many} such of these backyards do not serve for throwing the night-soil in them. The night soil being highly prized by the agriculturists, the inhabitants go to the fields to attend to the nature's call.

8. Dr. Oaldfield, S. - Vol. I, Op. cit. p. 99

As to the organisation of the community, the traditional features are still to be seen in the Newar villages. The Shresthas are regarded as the leader of the community and they are looked upon as a model for imitation. In the former days each village had a Dware, four 'Pradhans', four 'Nayakas' and from five to ten 'Maharias'. They were the village officials. The Dware and the Pradhans not only did collect the revenue but were also concerned with the maintenance of law and order in the villages under their jurisdiction. In contrast to Dwars who used to be appointed by the Government, the four Pradhans used to be the land-owners of the village. The village council also included seven representatives of the local community.⁹

The houses of the Newars are built of Kilnburnt bricks and tiles. (Photo Nos. 34 & 36). They are generally not less than of three storeys high. Each floor is designed for some specific purpose and has a name. The style of the houses as also their compactness, in a large measure, distinguishes the Newars from the other ethnic groups. In contrast, the Gorkhas have their traditional houses made of mud-walls and thatched roofs, containing only the ground floors, just as we find in the villages of north-Bihar. In the Valley of Kathmandu, they live in the Newar houses so far as the towns are concerned.

9. Hodgson, B.H. - Miscellaneous Essays Relating to the Indian Subjects, Vol. II, London, 1880, p. 231.

The Newar type of house is generally rectangular with low ceilings which hardly allows a tall man to stand erect. The roofs are generally two sloped, but the single sloped roofs which rest upon the backwalls are not rare. Such single roofed houses are considered to be inauspicious and their construction is, therefore, as far as possible, avoided.

The tiles are of two kinds - one large and rectangular and the other smaller but of the same shape. The projecting eaves of the roof rest upon a number of short wooden supports which slope upward from the walls of the house. These wooden brackets often form the object of conventional drawing and painting, the motive for them being to protect the house from the wrath of evil spirits. The tiles rest upon a layer of adhesive clay, and overlap each other forming a continuous channel by which rain water is quickly communicated off the surface of the roof. The corner-ends of the roof rise into a cobra-hood which is designed for the protective measures against the evil spirits. The front side of the roof, as already stated, contains a large opening, (Bhau-Pwa) which admits light and air to the top-most floor and in addition, which provides the traditional chimney for the smoke to escape.

The walls of the house are plastered with a special kind of clay in which the Valley abounds and which serves the purpose of white-wash. Windows are located only in the

front-walls. These windows are huge wooden structures full of ornamentation. For the different floors, there are different types of windows each of which has its own purpose and shape. The other three sides of the walls contain only holes so as to admit light and air.

The ground floor is called 'Chheri' which consists of a site for shop facing the road and a Varandah engirdling the inner court-yard. Such a Varandah serves as a store-house or cattle-stable and when the family Shradha is performed it is performed here. The first floor is called Mata(n) divided into several rooms and used as a living place where the guests and visitors come to the house are conducted. This floor does not have a large window but only a large rectangular wooden net-like structure called Tika-Jya which admits light and air inside, providing at the same time privacy since no body can observe from outside through such a window. The second floor, is called 'Chwata'. It contains several rooms in a row with separate entrances and used as bed chambers for the married couples of the family. It also contains a huge window over looking the road, projecting considerably out from the surface of the walls. Such windows are generally three in number and are dictated by religious consideration. They are believed to represent the Buddhist triad - Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. They are simply known as Jhya. Traditionally such windows are much favoured by the Jyapoo Newars.

Although the cost and the great labour which go in their making have made their use and construction prohibitive, the Jyapoo Newars nevertheless make it a point to search for an old one whenever a new house is to be built. In the case of richer sections of the Newars, modern buildings are becoming more popular.

The topmost floor is called 'Buiga' where the Newar kitchen and the family deity are located. It consists of a large space which is especially meant for holding the feasts. Strangers are very rarely admitted to this floor as the Kitchen comes under the operation of caste rules. It may be pointed out here that in contrast to the Newars, the Gorkhas preferentially have their kitchen located on the ground-floor. The reason for having the kitchen on the top-floor, ^{due} so far as the Newars are concerned is, among others, ^{due to} the desire to keep a sort of secrecy as the food constitutes one of the main ground for looking down upon the Newars. Traditional preference for cooking the food in earthen vessels* and not cleaning outer-surfaces of such cooking utensils also lead to the practice of having the kitchen located at some remote place.

* This may not be now applicable to the richer classes of the Newars who use metal utensils. But the Jyapooos still have a great preference for the earthen vessels.

Communication between the different floors is effected by means of step-ladders leading to an opening in the floors which can be closed by the horizontally sliding trap-doors. But now-a-days modern houses contain doors on every floor.

The floorings consist of wooden framework resting upon the wooden beams put across the walls. They are filled with bricks and plastered with thick layers of clays. Cemented floors are, however, quite popular in the town of Kathmandu.

The traditional house neither contains latrine nor a bathroom. In the house of an aristocratic Newar every room has a copper vessel known as 'Copra' which is used for urinating and discharging the human dung. Such filth, as already stated, used to find its place in the Chuka. Now-a-days most of the houses in the towns like Kathmandu and Patan latrines are found. But bathroom is still a feature associated only with the extremely rich. Women, if at all they want to have bath, come to the public water-tap or go to the river.

Each house has a figure of Ganesh carved out above the entrance. Just in the front, there is a circle marked on the ground called Fikha-Lakhu. It represents, as we have noted elsewhere, Kumar, brother of Ganesh.

Newar houses do not have common rooms to receive the guests of the family. Each married couple receive their guests in their own room which serves also as sleeping-room. The room is not furnished with modern furnitures and the sitting arrangement is on the ground itself. It is carpeted and a thick cotton mattress is spread over it. The room is kept neat and tidy. Besides, it contains a big wooden box, the traditional cosmetics such as Jwalah-Nhaikah, Shina Mhu, Kakicha (comb of bambu sticks), Thakucha (broom-like brush for the hair), Chika-Mhu (hair-oil pot) and Deva, a large brass lamp. The room also serves for housing the wife's dowry articles. The Jyapoo farmers have simple rooms and not so well carpeted with cotton beds. They ^{use} only straw mattress. The dowry items are, however, also found in their case.

The use of modern furnitures is now gradually making its appearance in the city of Kathmandu and elsewhere, where education has influenced the people. Despite this fact, the basis is still towards the traditional life. It is not explainable as to how ^{the} people who are so well-versed in woodwork so as to attract a wide acclaim have some how or other overlooked the use of furnitures.

Coming to house building, it is subjected to a series of rituals, The house is associated with the similar idea as is involved in the birth of a child. The artisans and

the workers are organised into different groups each of which has its own Nayake or leader. First a site is selected and on some auspicious date a worship is offered to it which includes, besides the offering of a goat or a duck, rice, flowers, samai-Bajee and tho(n). Such propitiation is necessary because the mother earth, as the belief goes, has to be compensated for the wound that is to be inflicted on her body. On the next auspicious date, the foundation-stone is laid with the offering of a ducks egg, a coconut, a yard of cloth and five betelnuts. Thereafter the head of the 'Dakarmis' (house builders) initiates the worship. Inside the foundation-site he places five brass vessels (five or nine metals). Then a silver tortoise is also placed into it. The five brass-pots are covered with five bricks after which the ritual of 'Bau Pee' is held. This ritual consists in offering some mass-pulse, black soya-beans, Chyapi (a kind of vegetable), a little by-product of tho(n) in an earthen pot to the spirits which are believed to haunt the foundation-site. A little of these items are scattered over the four corners of the site. This completes the ceremony connected with the foundation-work. The next stage of ceremony is called Kharu-Puja, worship of the door, which takes place with the completion of the ground floor. A goat is sacrificed to the door to be followed by the worship of the 'Sikarmis' by their head. Then the Sika-hu ritual takes place and the different parts of the goat's head is distributed among the different Sikarmis and Dakarmis. In it, the right eye is

taken by the head of the Sikarmi, the left eye by the head of the Dakarmi and the tongue by the house-owner. Thereafter a feast is held. With such feast, the 'Kharu-Puja' is over.

The 'Neena Puja' takes place many times whenever a floor is completed. It is meant for the worship of Tham (pillars for supporting the ceilings), Neena (beam) and Dalin (the floor). Again a goat is sacrificed and the usual worship and feast are held. It is followed by the 'Thaima-Puja' which takes place at the time of the construction of the roof of the house. Besides the usual items of worship, it requires 'salt', 'imu' (beshop-seeds) and ginger. It may be noted here that these items are also needed at the time of Macha-Bu-Benke. The usual belief connected with this worship is that this aims at the 'Benke' of the house, since like a child, it is born when the roof is completed. The previous worship is regarded as worship to the child in the womb of its mother.

The covering of the roof of the house with tiles again involves a ceremony in which the married daughters and their children of the house-owner's family have to fulfil certain functions. The other relatives who are required to be present on this occasion are the 'Fukee' members. The married daughters and children bring with them 'tho(n)',

Bara, Chhoila, Saga(n) and new saries. Every one of the married daughters ties the saries to the house and gives wine and tho(n) to their parents and to the other relatives before the feast starts. After the feast, they present Saga(n) to all the guests. The ceremony gets over with the presentation of a turban to the father and a blouse to the mother by each of the married daughters. The saries are later taken away by the Dakarmi and Sikarmi. Some times these saries are returned to the owner of the house on payment of eight annas and one pice and is known as Chyan-Chhaga(n). The owner of the house has to present turbans to Dakarmi Nayaka (head of the masons). Sikarmi Nayaka (head of the carpeters) and to each of the Jyamis (workers).

When the house is ready for occupation, the Bau-Biye-gu ceremony is performed with a view to pacifying the nine 'grahas'. For this purpose nine earthen dishes each containing 'Choka Bajee', 'Ka', Thaku-musya, urud pulse, dried garlic and Chhyapi, a piece of buffalo's lungs and bambu twigs are worshipped along with a goat sacrifice. The largest among the dishes is believed to symbolise Bhairava and the rest, Ashta matrikas. The worship being over, these pots are left at the nine cross roads of the locality. Then follows a big feast in which, in addition

to relatives, all the workers participate. After the feast, the Sika-Bhu ritual again takes place.

Such elaborate ceremony connected with housebuilding is not met with among the Gorkhas. They have only two stages of the ceremony - one at the time of the foundation day and the other when the house is completed. These are respectively called 'Rudri' and 'Hawan'. But these do not require the participations of the kin members nor are these connected with a feast.

Dress is much cared-for-item in the daily life among the Newars. They are not only fully dressed but also better dressed. This remark is even applicable to the peasant Newars who, however, do not use the lower garment except a 'Langoti' when they are engaged in work. It will be useful here to give the description of the dress used by the Gorkhas in general before proceeding to describe the Newar dress. Excepting the richer and the educated ones, the majority of the Gorkhas are very scantily dressed so far as the lower garment is concerned. To be called a lower garment they wear a 'Langoti' over which the upper garment, called 'Labeda' or 'Daura' is put on. This upper garment serves to cover the lower part of the body upto the knees. Over such dress, a long piece of loin cloth (Pataka) is bound around the waist to which the Nepalese weapon, Khukri is fastened.

The Newars, on the other hand, always make it a point to be well dressed. The high caste Newars who live in the towns are especially very much dress-conscious and they would not come out in the street unless they are fully dressed.

The type of dress with regard to male is common^{to all} but with regard to females, it varies from class to class as to the style of its wearing. The male upper garment is called La(n), the lower garment 'Suruwa'. These form the common dress of the Nepalese and more widely known as Labeda and Suruwal is mentioned just earlier.

The 'Suruwa' is a tight trousers a sort of modification of the Indian tight pyjama which goes somewhat by the same name. The only difference between these two is that the former is loose fitting whereas the latter is tight. Moreover the Nepalese 'Suruwa' is too much loose in the region of the buttocks. The Nepalese 'Suruwa' is more akin to the lower garment of the males of Saurashtra and Kutch who like the Gorkhas call it 'Suruwal'.⁹ The Labeda or La(n) is kept in position by a fastening arrangement on one side of the chest by strings. It resembles somewhat the 'pasabandhi Kediya' of Gujarat. But the Nepalese variety is totally shorn off

9. Ghurye, G.S. - Indian Costume (Bharatiya Vesabhusa), Bombay, 1951, p. 156.

the vertical gathers from below the chest which is a distinctive feature of the Gujarat type. In Nepalese variety such vertical gatherings are replaced by long flaps reaching just above the knees. ^{over} On such upper garment the patuka is worn round the waist. Ghurye says that this type of upper garment was the earlier dress of north India.¹⁰ The richer classes wear in addition coat and waist coat which is an adoption from the European dress.

The head-dress is confined to males only. There is being no custom to cover the head of the females, the Newar women like the Gorkhas keep their head uncovered. This, however, contrasts with the Gurung and Kirati women who wear 'pheta' or pagari. The 'male' head dress is, however, of many varieties, all round shaped. All of these are either called Topi in Nepali or tapali in Newari. Of these, the Bhatgawle tapali is typical in its material as well as black colour. This cap is a speciality of the Newars of Bhatgaon and hence such name. Another variety of Tapali is a white one of similar shape and make except the material used. It is a white cap of muslin against the background of printed cloth.

The dress of the female is the most distinctive cultural trait as it marks out the Newar from all the other

10. Op. cit. p. 160.

ethnic groups. Such distinction is made not by the variation in the items of garments, but by their mode of use and colour. Dress again becomes a mark of distinction as between the Newar women of different social and economic strata. The garment worn by the women consists of a parsi (Sari), Misa La(n) (long sleeved blouze reaching upto the waist), 'Ga' (Dupatta or Shawl) and jani (Patuka) which is wider and longer than the one used by the male. The principle involved in the wearing of the dress seem to be to completely cover the body. In addition, the bosom in the case of higher caste-women should be occulted so as not to attract the eyes of the male. This purpose is served by covering the body with the ga. In the case of the working class women, especially of the Jyapoo section the 'ga' is put only at the time of festivals; on the other occasions, the upper part of the body has only the La(n). It appears that the Newari women are not conscious of the need of the display of the bodily beauty as no part of their body, except the portion below the knee, is exposed. The exposure of the calf muscle is a favourite way of beauty-display.

It is the mode of wearing the parsi, which distinguishes the female Newars from others. The parsi is put on in such a way that numerous pleats are formed in the front and the end of parsi is not thrown across the shoulder, but tied round the waist.

The parsi reaches only upto the lower leg. Formerly it used to consist of forty to fifty yards in length so as to enable a woman to have a gathering of numerous pleats at the front. The tying of Patuka round the waist, whatever may be its function, mars the bodily beauty of the women. As a result the body looks shapeless, not allowing the exposure of the curve. Such traditional mode of wearing the garments is especially preserved by the Udas women. The Jyapoo women set apart themselves from the other Newar women by their typical way of wearing the Parsi and the choice of its colour. They too wear their Parsi shorter upto the knee. From behind, it makes an upturned 'V' shape in between the legs. This serves to expose the calf-muscles which generally bear the marks of tattooing. Their 'parsi' is always of black colour and spun in their own household looms. In the majority of cases no inner garments such as bodice, brassier and petticoat are used by the female folk. The modernised Newar ladies of the Kathmandu city have, however, now begun to use such modern inner garments.

With regard to the social and age distinction to be made by the mode of dress, one relates to the girls who have not attained maturity. Till her first menstruation, the traditional dress of a girl consists of a Janghwal-'Suruwa'

very loose from behind so as to look like a bag hanging from the buttocks and a long sleeved La(n) as used by the grown-up female. After the first monthly course she is entitled to wear the Parsi. The male children wear the 'Suruwa' and the La(n) with the Jani and, therefore, in their case, there is no distinction made from the grown up males. But the use of cap serves the distinction. Those male children who have not undergone the ceremony of Kaita-Puja have always to keep their heads covered with the 'Tapali'. This practice is more carefully observed in the region of Bhatgaon.

Occasions also govern the mode of costume and the adherence to a particular type of dress on a particular occasion. In case of some of the castes it shows not only their cultural affinities with the people living over a much wider region but also a reflection of their past costume. For example, at the time of Shraddha or funeral procession, the Deo-Bhaju, the Vanra and the Shrestha Newars have to wear 'dhoti' instead of the traditional 'Suruwa'. Whenever an aged male relative is to be honoured he has to be presented with a Pheta (Pagari or Safa). Especially at the time of Thakali Luigu, the Thakali-designate has to wear a 'Pheta' and all the relatives have to show respect to him by presenting a pagari, one by one. Again during the period of mourning only the white dress containing no linen is used by both the ^{sexes.} people.

Despite such traditional mode of dress, which is still predominant, there appears to have come a great change upon the people of the higher strata and of education. With the advent of democracy which took away all the social restrictions, modern style of dress appear to be rapidly being adopted. Therefore, the skirts, Indian style of wearing the Sari, the Punjabi Kurta and 'Surwar' are coming into vogue. Perhaps it is a matter of few years when the 'janghwal suruwa' to be worn by the female children may totally disappear. The introduction of Cinema is one of the main factors for bringing about a new trend in the style of dress in Nepal.

The traditional foot-wear of the Newar used to be made of cloth with a thick cloth or rope-sole and it is still in vogue, though modern shoes are predominantly used.

It is in the matter of ornaments that the Newar women show lavishness. The types of ornaments are so many that it is difficult to enumerate them all. The use of such ornaments and the absence of the use of some other ornaments distinguish the Newar women from that of the other people. The importance of ornaments can be easily realised by the existence of Vanra goldsmith among them. Some of the head ornaments are called Sinduri, Sir-bandi, Lu(n)-we-Swa(n), Kata and Jyapoo-Sikha. Of these, the second and the sixth are ritually important at

the time of Yihee, Bara and marriage. The ear-ornaments include 'tuci', 'Mundari', 'patawari tuci' and 'maka phosi'. The speciality of Newar women with regard to the ear-ornaments is that there are a number of holes bored in each of the ear-flaps for wearing such ornaments. The weight of these ^{is} so much ^{that} the ears bend down towards the front. Such lavish use of ear-ornaments is to be met with only in the case of the married women. Many of the married women now a days, however, do not feel inclined to be burdened with these, except one in each of the ears. The popular Nepali ear-ornament 'Dhungri' has not so far found favour with them. Also the Newari women do not use nose-ornaments. An observer will fail to find even a single Newar woman wearing a nose ornament or even having a hole in her nose for such purpose, a culture trait dealt with elsewhere. In this respect they differ from both the Gorkhas and the mongoloid tribes in Nepal, but share it with the Nayars of Malabar.

Another important feature regarding ornaments is the popularity of a silver neck-lace worn by the Jyapoo women. It is called 'Wo-Sikha' and is ceremonially important. It is also an indispensable ornament for the goddess Kumari. The 'Tilari' worn by the married Gorkha women is not to be met with among the Newars. It is a cylindrical golden piece put into a glass beaded necklace* which is worn like the sacred thread

* Compare it with the Tali ornament of the Malabar.

and which keeps dangling on the right thigh. It is symbolic of 'Suhag' or being married.

Among the wrist ornaments of the Newars include 'Luchuri', Bahi or Baju and pancha-ratna-churi. Leg ornaments are not of many kinds. If at all they existed in the past, they have disappeared now. But the Kali worn round the ankles is still in vogue. This is a common ornament to all the Nepalese. So far the Newar women are concerned they wear it till the birth of her first baby. Rings are called 'angu' and does not have a distinctive feature of their own so as to need a detailed discription here.

While some of the traditional ornaments like 'Sirhandi' and the silver-chain have ceremonial significance, the majority of them are indicative of social prestige. Newar women are very much conscious of the need to enhance ^{their} ~~one's~~ prestige by appearing in such ornaments during the events of social significance. Particularly while attending the feasts, which also provides the opportunity for displaying one's prestige, women make it a point to load themselves ^{heavily} with numerous ornaments as far as possible. If a woman does not have her own, she unhesitatingly borrows them from her neighbours.

Tattooing is not much practised except by the Jyapoo women among whom it finds a special favour. The region of the

body where tatooing is done is the hind part of the calf-muscle. As the belief runs the tatooing is helpful in having a means of sustenance in the other world after death. For these can be sold off to buy the food.

The hair-style of the Newar male does not differ from that of the other Nepalese except from that of the Bhotias who have their hair plaited into a long pigtail. There used to be, however, in the past certain marked distinctions maintained by some of the Newar castes with regard to hair style. Thus Dr. Oaldfield observes that the Udas used to wear top-knots of hair on their crowns.¹¹ The Vanras on the other hand had a different tradition. They used to get their heads cleaned shaved even removing the last tuft of hair,¹² called tupi or sikha which is a distinguishing feature of the Hindus. This was in conformity with their former monastic rules. Such features have now a days totally disappeared and the hair style can not be taken to be a mark of caste-distinction. The women in the majority of cases tuck their hair behind the back into a thick knot (Juda) except the ladies among the richer classes who, like the Gorkha women, plait it into two pig-tails, falling over the back. The ends of these pig-tails are tied with red

11. Op. cit., Vol. I., p. 184.

12. Ibid, p. 139.

ribbons. Some of the women of the higher classes are frequently found in the traditional hair-style in which case the hair is gathered into a top-knot just above the forehead, a feature which is not to be met with among the non-Newar women. A similar practice appears to have been the distinguishing feature of the women of Malabar in south India. Thus Dr.M.S.A.Rao writes that the Nayar women used to have such hair style so as to give it an appearance of an expanded hood of a cobra.¹³ Hair style of the females served in the past for marking the difference in civil status. The present writer was told by many of the Newar ladies that unmarried girls never used to tuck their plaits into a circular form on the back portion of the head. This was a privilege allowed only to a married woman. The unmarried females always let their hair plaits fall behind the back. Now a days it is difficult to distinguish an unmarried female from the married one on the basis of the hair-style. The former, however, now shows preference for the buff-cut-hair over the pig tails. Another notable change in the hair style is the adoption of a single pig-tail instead of the two. Such features are noticeable especially among the high caste Newars.

13. Rao, M.S.A. - Social Change in Malabar, Bombay, 1957, p.9.

Like other Nepalese, the Newars have two principal meals which they call jyona and Beli or Byaloo. The first is taken at about ten O'clock and the second, after the sun set. There are, in addition, two subsidiary meals corresponding to breakfast - 'Kaula' and the afternoon refreshment 'Diku'. In the principal meals, the menu includes rice (Ja), pulse-curry (Keh(n), and one or two kinds of green vegetables among which the most popular ones are potato and rap-leaves (paka). Some time in the menu meat is also included. Besides, several varieties of pickles of chilli, radishes, potato and cowli-flowers are added to the menu.

The morning breakfast 'Kaula' is a luxury which can be afforded only by the richer section of the community. The items it includes are tea, puri, halva and Jilebi (jilbi). In the city of Kathmandu people generally go to the restaurant for having such meal. The afternoon refreshment Diku is taken during the mid-day and it generally consists of flattened rice (Bajee), vegetables and buffalo-meat.

The items of food included in the feast are still of larger varieties. It is not felt here necessary to give such details since they are dealt with elsewhere. It is enough to state that the boiled rice and pulse-curry are never served in a feast. They are replaced with the flattened rice.

Some of the special meat dishes of the Newars include 'Syapati' kimila, gorma, chalya, chhakula, chhoila, chhyala, taha-kha, Na-ga, pupala, Bulla, Lago-lao, lapi, lakula, sanya-khunya, sa-pu, hicha, haiyla. Of these chula, chhoiyla and tah-kha are the popular dishes. The first is dried meat made into powder and mixed with spices; the second, raw meat mixed with spices; and the third is in a jelly form. The last variety is considered on a par with the boiled rice and, therefore, it can be accepted only from the hand of a casteman. Another popular preparation is called 'momocha' which is rather a Tebetan dish, but now fully adopted by the aristocratic Newars. It is a kind of 'somosa' stuffed with heavily spiced raw meat and cooked in the manner the south Indian dish 'idli' is cooked. A notable feature of the food habit of these people is the eating of an organism produced by the rotting of the meat. The present writer did not, however, come across a single individual eating such a thing. But the consensus of opinion among the Newars themselves asserts that it still forms a favourite dish of the Jyapoos in the Patan area. Some of the high caste Buddhist Newars are also reported to relish it. It is prepared in the following manner: Raw meat is stuffed into half a foot long bamboo tube and closed tightly at its both ends. It is allowed to rot till the flesh is transformed into

maggots. These organisms begin to eat one another and is finally left with a single organism of the size of the volume of the tube. It is boiled in water and cut into pieces to serve the dinner table.

Sweat-meats are of many kinds and here again the Newars show a high level of culture. Some of the popular Nepalese sweat-meats are the gifts of the Newars. Of these, the sweat-meats called Punjabi-roti containing several folds and of the shape of a gandhi cap is liked by all the Nepalese. The paper-like thin 'puri' is another food item of worth-mentioning. Apart from these, the traditional Newar sweat meats which are included under the general appellation of 'Lakha-marhi' are of so many varieties that hardly any non-Newar Nepalese can claim a similar speciality. Among these 'Lakha-marhi', 'Gul-marhi', aitha and yo-marhi are the items of ceremonial significance.

Apart from the foregoing special dishes, there are few more which the Newars share in common with the other Nepalese. These are sinki, tamba and 'gunruk'. Sinki is prepared by fermenting the radishes; tamba is made out of tender bamboo shoots by similar process; and the gunruck by drying the leafy vegetables in the sun. When any of these items is mixed with potato and gravy is prepared, it is passionately liked by all the Nepalese.

Some of the animal foods are a taboo. As for instance wild bores, pigs and rams with long tails imported from India are avoided. The flesh of Yak is similarly considered as a taboo, since this animal is regarded on par with the cow. Looking to the Newar food habit, one can say that they have retained to this day a great preference for such food items which are in the state of fermentation. The Meat specially comes under this category.

Drink comes natural to the Newars. There are at least three to four varieties of it. These not only figure in the day to day life of the people, but are also a part of their ceremonial activities. The bad effect of drink is admitted and the people do not like their children to indulge in it except in ceremonial occasions when it becomes a necessity. The main varieties of drink are 'aila' (wine), and 'tho(n)' (rice beer). The drinks are prepared out of rice, kodo and jaggery.

Some of the problems relating to sanitation and hygiene have been already discussed in some other context. The food appetite is another factor which affects the health of the people. Excessive eating, especially during the festival period, has been the principal cause for the outbreak of epidemics. The preference for the fermented food leads to

an unhygienic life during the summer. Especially among the people of lower economic strata, the insanitary condition is acute and, therefore, the rural area is worst affected whenever the epidemic breaks out.

As regards bodily cleanliness and washing of the clothes, the Newars differ little from the other Nepalese. Daily bath is not a feature in Nepal. So far^{as} the men are concerned they only clean their teeth and wash their faces. The normal practice is to have bath on Saturdays during the summer; but during the winter not even once do they take bath. The women may take bath on the fourth day of menstruation, but this again becomes unnoticeable among the females of the lower economic strata. The special occasion when people take bath is during the religious festivals. On such days they go to the river. Otherwise, they come to the public water taps.

Washing of clothes constitute a regular duty of the housewives. Except a few wealthy Newars and the educated persons who employ the washerman, the majority of the Newars get their clothes washed by the housewives themselves. Women go for this purpose either to the street water-taps or to the nearest 'hitty'. During morning the place where the water-tap is located is seen with women busy at their work. Now-a-days, for such purpose, the locally made soap is being increasingly

replaced by those made in India. With regard to rural people clothes are washed with 'ritha' (*Sapindus Mukorossi*). A few beliefs of the Newars regarding cleanliness and bath are quite peculiar to them. Married women are not expected to take bath without the prior permission of their husbands. Red-soil and cow-dung are not to be brought into the house on Mondays, Wednesday and during the whole Sravan month.

The most common disease among the Newars is dysentery which is, however, met with among all the Nepalese in the Valley. It is generally attributed to the high percentage of mica content in the drinking water. Smallpox is another notorious disease and it takes a heavy toll because of the traditional disinclination of the Newars for vaccination. We have described elsewhere as to how the special deity Ajima is dreaded as the goddess of smallpox. Cholera may be regarded as the scourge of the Newars which is entirely due to the food habit and the scant regard paid to the sanitary condition. Last year⁽¹⁹⁵⁸⁾ when the Cholera broke out in the Nepal Valley, it was reported that it was mostly confined to poor classes of the Newar. Yet another notable disease is goitre. It is generally found among the Jyapoo Newars. Elephantiasis is again commonly met with among the agricultural people. Malaria though not prevalent in the Valley, is the most dreaded disease among the Newars of Noakot. Deafness and muteness are also

quite common. It is difficult to say as to what is the share of tuberculosis among the diseases of the Valley. Lack of cross ventilation and the low ceiled houses with little scope for the admittance of sun-light inside may be suggestive of a high incidence that this disease should be having. Blindness is also not rare^y, but the most of the people suffering from it have received it owing to the attack of smallpox.

To take instances from the Fanga village with a total population of 2,578, where 85.4 per cent of the households belong to the Jyapoo caste, there are reported to be 25 deafs, 10 mutes, 10 cripples, 2 insanes, 12 or 13 persons suffering from goitre, 70 or 78 from elephantiasis, 20 or 25 from hydrocele, two from blindness and only one or two from venereal diseases. All of these afflicted persons belong to the Jyapoo caste. Elephantiasis appears to be more common among the people in the rural region. The present author would like to draw the attention of the reader that the Jyapoos appear to be the main target of these diseases. In the Valley of Kathmandu he had rarely come across any person of the high caste suffering either from goitre or elephantiasis. Venereal diseases are, however, not reported to be chronic. As far as the village of Fanga is concerned it is learnt that, barring some solitary instances there is almost none. The

Indian Embassy doctor when approached by the present writer attested to the fact that the venereal diseases are not abnormal among the Newars. In contrast, according to him, the incidence among the hill people (the Bhotias and the Tamangs) may be estimated to be over 80 per cent.

We now turn to the Newar art and architecture. It is in this sphere that the Newars reveal superb craftsmanship. The monuments extant in the Valley of Nepal is a living testimony to the Newars' skilfulness of work. We have already described about the construction of residential buildings. Here we are concerned with the temple architecture and the plastic arts. The main feature of the Newar architecture is the pagoda structure and the ornamental wood carving and painting on it. The architecture may be described as having religion as its motif. The temples are of two kinds - the gompa type and the pagoda-type. The first variety is represented by the main Buddhist temples of Swayambhu, Bodhnath and Kathe-Buddha. Each of these shrines consists of a gigantic mound crowned by a square structure on whose four sides the eyes of the Buddha are painted (photo Nos. 84 & 85). This is again surmounted by the Chhatra. The various parts of the structure represent the various Bhuwanas (abode) of the gods in the Universe, which figure in the Buddhist mythology.

In contrast to the above mentioned Buddhist shrines, the Hindu temples are mainly in the pagoda style. The main feature of this kind of architecture is represented by Nyata-pau in Bhatgaon, Talleju temple in Kathmandu, Bajra jogini at Sankhu, and Pashupati temple, in addition to the numerous temples of mother goddess, Chatterjee¹⁴ sums up the main features of these temples in the following manner:

- 1) they are built in several stages, each smaller than the one beneath, with
- ii) sloping roofs and projecting eaves supported by inclined beams.
- iii) they generally rise not directly from the ground, but from a square terrace.

A significant difference between the Chinese variety of this architecture and that of Nepal is that in the former case, the roofs are upturned, whereas in the latter it is not. Another point to be noted is that, as already stated, the principal Buddhist shrines are of a non-pagoda style, whereas the Hindu shrines are mostly in the pagoda style. The abundance of the pagoda structures as associated with the Hindu deities and their comparatively rare association with the Buddhist deities suggest that this branch of art received encouragement and patronage from Hinduism. It is, however, strange to note that the artisans associated with it are exclusively from the Vanra and Udas castes, the former being more predominant.

14. J.A.S.B., Vol. 19, 1923, p. 487.

As to the origin of such type of architecture there are three different views. Firstly, that it was adopted from China;¹⁵ secondly it was borrowed from the Asana type of the temple architecture of India;¹⁶ and lastly that it was evolved in Nepal itself, the land of Timber and piety.¹⁷ It is, however, now fairly certain that the pagoda has an Indian origin. Levi has also arrived at this conclusion.¹⁸ The Chinese documents also reveal that during the 13th Century the Mongol court invited 80 Nepalese artists headed by 'A-ni-ko' (called Aruniko in Nepal), a descendant of the royal family to build temples and statues in Tebet and China.¹⁹ In the same passage it is stated that later 'A-ni-ko' was appointed the general director of all the workers in bronze and still later the controller of the imperial manufacturers. The tradition of 'A-ni-Ko' lasted for a long time among the Buddhist sculptors in China, and is still upheld in the introduction to a late iconometric treatise, the Tsao-hsiang-gu-Liang-ching.²⁰

15. Hamilton (Bucharan) - An account of the Kingdom of Nepal, Edinburgh, 1819, pp. 29, and 40.

16. Havell, E.D. - The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of the Hindus, London, 1915, pp. 120-1

17. Landon, P. - Lo Nepal, Vol. II, p. 260.

18. Levi, S. - Le Nepal, Vol. II, p. 10-12.

19. Petsch Luciono - The Mediaeval History of Nepal (C.750-1480), Roma, 1958, pp. 99-100.

20. Ibid.

Now a days the scope for the display of such architectural skilfulness is in a languishing condition. With the overthrow of the royal Mallas, the patrons of fine arts, the Newar artisans ceased to receive encouragement from the Gorkhas who idealised a different branch of human excellence - the art of chivalry. The Newar craftsmen have now shifted over to house-building and bronze-casting and so far as the temple-architecture is concerned, they confine themselves to repairing work only.

In the field of songs, musics, dramatics and dances, the Newars are equally skilful. As already stated elsewhere, each caste group has its own 'Nasa-Khala', an association to train the boys in singing and music. Similarly the numerous types of musical instruments show the interest of the Newars in appreciative branch of human activity. Most of the musical instruments are akin to Indian types. (Photograph Nos. 54-59).

Dances are numerous and these have been amply described in connection with the festivals. These dances take the theme of the fight between the gods and the demons and idealise the triumph of virtue over the evil. In the field of dramatics, there exists a tradition among the Jyapoos of staging the 'Jyapoo-Pyakha'. It is an open air theatre and staged in every locality. The theme of the play

is associated with religious stories. Whether it is a song or music or dance or drama, the Newar female are characteristically unconnected with it. It is only the Newar males who associate themselves with it. Again all these arts are woven round the religious life of the people and as such they present a contrast to the other Himalayan people in whose folk songs and folk-dances not only do the men and women take equal part, but also their folk dances, songs are mostly social and take the theme of human love and disappointment, rather than making religion as the basis of their expression.

Of the sports and games of the Newars, they are entirely of indoor variety. Though the football is a favourite game in the town of Kathmandu, the popular games among the majority of the people are the playing of cards and the 'Bagh-chal'. The richer section of the community play 'chaupat' or chess. The boys' favourite games are either cards, or playing with marbles or the 'Khopi'. The last one is a kind of gambling which involves throwing a coin into a scoop. All of these games are either a form of gambling or tend towards gambling. The absence of outdoor games and sports is substituted by the numerous feasts, festivals and dances. With regard to female-game, the doll is most popular. In these matters, the Newars do not differ from the other Nepalese of the Valley who are equally engaged

in games which are of gambling type.

Coming to the Newars' knowledge and traditions relating to animals, plants, their pseudo-materiological beliefs, astronomy and zoology, the present writer could not collect enough material. There are, however, certain strange beliefs and facts which are worth mentioning. Black cat, as among the other Nepalese, is regarded very inauspicious. But its placenta is regarded very valuable. It is believed that if a person goes in for gambling with a piece of the placenta in his pocket he is sure to be lucky at the game. The nature beliefs are the same as among the Hindus. The rainbow is believed to be the pipe of Indra who drains water from the ocean to cause rain. The stars are regarded as the different Rishis who have attained salvation. The Newars are, however, unique in so far as they distinguish four types of lightnings. These are Bajra-mala (thunder-bolt), Pa-Mala (like an axe), Mi-Mala (like fire) and Gongga-Mala (like a cock). In order to protect the house and the articles from the charge of these lightnings, an emblem of these are engraved on the houses or on the articles. Generally in Nepal the domestic utensils and the house-tops are engraved with the representations of these various forms of the lightnings.

The language of the Newar is called Newari which has a good literature of its own. Hodgson and Sir George Grierson have described it as belonging to the Tebeto-Burman group of the Sino-Tibetan family of speeches.²¹ The Sino-Tibetan family of speeches are spoken by a vast population. These speeches have been classified into two distinct branches, namely, (a) Tebeto-Burman and (b) Siamese-Chinese. Grierson defines the territory of the former group from Tebet in the north to Burma in the south, and from Baltistan in the west to the Chinese provinces of Szechuan and Yunnan in the east. The Tebeto-Burman group has been classified into proper Tebeto-Burman and the Himalayan group, as the latter has been found to have struck out its own lines distinguishing itself in many features from the former. It has again been split into the sub-groups, namely, the non-Pronominalised dialects and the Pronominalised dialects.

The Himalayan group of the Tebeto-Burman speeches thus fall under three sub-heads: (a) Pure dialects which include Newari, Magari, Gurung, Murmi, Sunwari, Lepcha or Rong and Toto etc.; (b) The Eastern Pronominalised dialects which include Rai, Limbu, Yakha, Dhimal, Khamphu, Vayu etc.; and (c) the Western Pronominalised dialects which include Kanauri spoken near Simla, Lahuli and nine other dialects

21. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.III, Part I, pp.1-2.

current in that region. The peculiarities of the pronominalised languages have been suggested to be due to the influence of the Austro-Asian dialects, mainly of the Munda dialect. In this connection Grierson remarks, "All these features in which the Himalayan dialects differ from other Tibeto-Burman languages are in thorough agreement with the principles prevailing in the Munda forms of speech. It is, therefore, probable that Mundas or the tribes speaking a language connected with those now in use among the Mundas have once lived in the Himalayas and left their stamp on the dialects spoken at present day".²²

Even the non-Pronominalised dialects show some trace of the Munda features. The pure dialects like Murmi, Sunwar, Magari and Newari suggest their earlier affinity with that dialect. For example Murmi still retain the method of counting higher numbers in twenties.²³ There also seems to be a tendency to distinguish the subject of verbs by adding pronominal suffixes.²⁴ Hodgson had included the Sunwari in the 'Pronominalised' group, but later Grierson found it to be not so.²⁵ But higher numbers are still counted in twenties

22. Ibid

23. Ibid, p. 180

24. Ibid

25. Ibid

and the short forms of personal pronouns are frequently used as prefixes.²⁶ Another pure dialect, Magari retains the feature of making a distinction between nouns denoting animate beings and inanimate objects, respectively. Further the numerals and the personal pronouns have forms which agree with those in use in the Western pronominalised group. On this basis Grierson remarks that most of the non-Pronominalised languages once belonged to the 'Pronominalised group', but have in course of time given up such characteristic features under the influence of the neighbouring Tebetan dialects.²⁷

Likewise Newari, Grierson says, shows some traces of a distinction made between animate beings and things.²⁸ Therefore, it is probable that it was originally a Pronominalised language which in course of time stripped itself off such Munda influence. This is not impossible when we see the Sunwari having come to be a pure dialect from a complex one since the days of Hodgson. We shall have occasion elsewhere to point out some cultural features associated with the Newars which show Austric traits.

26. Ibid

27. Ibid

28. Ibid

Newari has the closest affinity with the Pahari dialect. The resemblance between the two, according to Grierson, is so close that the latter has been regarded as a sub-dialect of the former. The Pahari tribe has, however, completely vanished from the Valley, but they are reported to be in good numbers in *lower hills of eastern Nepal*. It appears that the local Paharis have merged themselves with the Jyapoos with whom they form a section known as Pihl or Pahl.

The Newari language varies as between the Bhatgaon and Kathmandu regions. The Kathmandu Newars have ^{often} been ~~often~~ found complaining that the Newari spoken by the Bhatgaon Newars is a bit different. Similarly within the Kathmandu region itself the Newari spoken by the Duniya is some what difficult to understand for others. It has already been noted elsewhere that the practice among them is to use 'r' sound for 'l' which among the higher caste groups becomes interchangeable. Another tribe which speaks Newari is the Balami who lives in the vicinity of the Valley.

Some of the features shows affinity of the Newari with the people as distantly placed as Nilgiri. Hodgson has pointed out this. As for example, Va vel va, come and 'sumeka', silent are perfectly the same in form and meaning both in Newari and the Nilgirian.

Of all the Himalayan group of Tebetan Burman languages, Newari has the oldest literature and according to Sunit Kumar Chatterjee the only rival of Newari are Ahom and Manipuri.³⁰ Formerly it had three types of alphabets³¹ - Bhanjin Mola, Ranjana and Newari. S.K. Chatterjee says that the Newari alphabet was the local modification of the Kutila or Eastern form of the script current all over North India upto the 7th Century - a script from which also developed the Marthili, Bengali, Assamese and Oriya alphabets. Hodgson tells that the older Newari script was a modified form of Brahmi script.³² The present Newari is, however, written in Devanagari script and thus it falls in line with the other Indo-Aryan languages.

About its literature, in the early times, Hodgson informs us that most of the Newari manuscripts during his days were translation of, and comments on the Sanskrit books.³³ From the early time in Nepal all Buddhist literature used to be written in Sanskrit as a result of which the main inspiration for Newari came from that language. Its closer

30. Kirata-Jan-Kriti, J.R.A.S.B., Vol. XVI, 1950, No. 3, p. 187.

31. Illustrations from the Religion, Language and Literature of the Buddhists, pp. 12-13.

32. *ibid* ; see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol III, Part I, p. 214.

33. *ibid*

contacts with the North-Bihar and especially with the Mithila did not leave it without being influenced by the languages of the regions. According to Hans Jorgenson, in the classical Newari, there are ample loan words from Prakrit and Maithili. In the recent time Newari is increasingly under the influence of Nepali and Hindi for loan words.

It is to be noted that in contrast to the other Tebeto-Burman speakers who are prone to give up their mother tongue, the Newar speakers, have characteristically stuck to their language and speak Nepali only for intercommunity and official purposes. Of the total population of 3,92,389 as many as 96.3 per cent still speak in their own mother tongue and only 43.1 per cent of them are reported to be speaking Nepali as the principal secondary language.³⁴

During the Rana oligarchy, publication of Newari literature and its use for official purposes were completely banned and, therefore, Newari received no encouragement for its development. Since 1951, much efforts are being made for the revival of the Newari to enrich its literature and popularise it. There are at present two literary organisations, namely, the Chosa-Pasa and the 'Nepali Bhasa Farishad', which are engaged in its promotion.

34. Census Report of Nepal, 1952-54, p. 47





28. A woman of Jyapoo caste going to the field. 29. A group of Jyapoo women working in the field. (They are seen breaking the soil by means of the 'Khata-Muga' or wooden pulveriser). 30. A Jyapoo man going to the field with his implements. (See the 'Ku' or digging hoe, the earthen water jug and the leaf umbrella).



31

Newar peasants are seen digging the field after the first shower of the rain.



32

Newar women-peasants seen transplanting the paddy seedlings.



33

Mid-day meal at the field. The woman (right) is seen offering 'tho(n)' or rice beer.



34. A Newar Village street. 35. The traditional window of a Newar house. 36. The front view of a Newar house in the village of Panga. (Note the Bhau-Pwa or the openings on the roof). 37. Ornamental eaves of a temple on which poses of the sexual acts are depicted at the bottom.



38. The roof of a Newar house showing the tiles and also the entrance to the terrace. These flat tiles are a recent adoption.
 39. The roofs showing both small and large tiles.



40



41



42

40. The liquor distilling apparatus which is placed upon an oven.
 41. The common type of loom used in a Newar household in Panga.
 42. A Kasai with his fishing net.



43

The non-Newar method of
load-carrying.

44

The Newar method of
load carrying.
(The bags are used
for grains)



44



45

45

A second type of load-
carrying by the Newars.



46. The Potter's wheel in action. 47. The various kinds of earthenware. 48. Further varieties of earthenwares.



49. A Jyapoo mother with her baby. 50. Jyapoo house-wives asking the 'Bajee' or flattened rice. 51. The traditional public water-tap where women are busy in washing and bathing at mid-day.



52. A Jyapoo Newar carrying the child in the traditional manner.
 53. A Kasai selling the buffalo meat.



54. The typical musical instrument called 'Kaha(n) Baja' associated with the Jyapoos. 55. Various types of musical instruments associated with the Udas caste. 56. A Vanra group of musicians.



57



58



59



60

57. Musical instruments. 58. A special type of drums associated with the Udas. 59. A big drum called 'Dhimai'. 60. The statue of Virupaksh which indicates the skillfulness of the Newar sculptor.

CHAPTER III

LIFE CYCLE

Pregnancy of married women is a natural desire among the Newars. The belief runs that for a good child to be born, the amorous life of the couples preceding conception must be happy and harmonious. Otherwise, the child is said to be born defective or deformed like Dhritrastra and Pandu of the Mahabharata. A woman who fails to conceive a child lives a tortuous life. She is looked down upon by the other members of the family and her social status remains imperfect until she becomes the mother of her first child. It is therefore natural for her to seek all possible aid to this end, including supernatural. She consults the 'Aji', the hereditary professional local midwife who administers^{to} her some kind of herbs to cause conception. At the same time she invokes the mercy of gods by diverse means. Fasting on Tuesdays in honour of Ganesh and performing 'Satyanarayana Puja' for eleven days commencing with Sankranti (first day of the month) are some of the recourses believed to be

efficacious. Strange as it may seem, even the orthodox Buddhamargi Newars like Manandhars perform the 'Satya-narayana Puja' for which they employ 'Deo Bhaaju' Brahmins. The writer was informed of the two other types of worship current among the Buddhamargis known as 'Ashtami Vrata' and 'Nava' lasting for nine days and directed to the same end. The 'prasad' in all these cases is given to the husband to eat.

There is also a special deity known as 'Jhata pola' in Kathmandu to whom, is attributed the power of bestowing a child. This deity is represented by a long stone pillar which in the writer's opinion is a form of phallic symbol commonly associated with Shiva. A woman desiring to have a child goes to embrace this deity. She usually does this either early in the morning or under cover of darkness in order to avoid disagreeable comments from the passers by. The women of Panga visit Adinath in the nearby region for the sake of a child. There is also a tall stone idol representing Unmateshwar Bhairaba with a long penis in an erect posture, which is worshipped for the sake of child.

The first symptom of conception is, as every where, the cessation of menses. This is usually confided by the woman to her mother-in-law or the eldest female member of her family. Normally the fact of conception is confirmed only after the woman has no menses consecutively for two or three months. Then there are other indications to look for, such as vomiting, keen appetite for eatables of sour taste, like lemon, raw mango, pickles etc. Such beliefs are also shared in common by the Gorkhas.

Pregnancy involves the practising of a number of don'ts by the woman. These are intended to ensure protection of the child in the womb. During eclipses, she is advised not to touch her abdomen with her fingers. If she does so the child is believed to have some dark patch on its body. Bhim Bhakta Joshi of Kathmandu actually showed the writer a black spot on his chest to substantiate this belief. A pregnant woman is forbidden to see or touch the pictures or idols of fierce deities, such as Bhairava and Narsingha Avtar. She is also enjoined not to touch the 'Bajra'. These prohibitions are meant to avoid miscarriage. The winding of 'Patuka'* is considered to be ill advised as

* Patuka is a long piece of loin-cloth tied round the waist to serve as a belt for keeping the stomach warm. In the Valley people generally tie it.

it tightens the belly and is likely to suffocate the child in the womb. She is also not supposed to touch the rope by which an animal is tied nor is she to cross it over.

With regard to food, there are no set rules. The pregnant woman is required to eat enough rich food so that the embryo in the womb is properly nourished and developed in due course into a healthy child.

The beliefs regarding work appear to be some what strange. Although it is now generally held that a pregnant woman should do only light work, if at all any, the traditional belief of assigning heavy work to her nevertheless persists. It is a common belief that if a pregnant woman lifts heavy objects, the child born is likely to be strong. Therefore, the carrying of big jars filled with water is generally recommended to a pregnant woman. Another belief associated with such practice is that it causes smooth delivery.

In matters of sexual intercourse, no ritual restriction exists during the state of pregnancy. A man may continue to cohabit with his wife until the delivery period and may resume intercourse twenty days after the delivery.

But such cases are rare, for immediately after delivery, the woman continues to remain separated from her husband for about a month and thereafter she proceeds to her natal home for another month or so. This arrangement spares a wife of cohabitation with her husband.

In the matter of preference for the sex of the child, a son is always coveted. ~~For~~. As to the grounds for such preference, almost all the 223 heads of families in the sample returned that the son not only ensures the continuance of the 'Kul' (family line) but is also an economic asset to the family, while a girl after her marriage has to go away to become a member of her husband's family. One head of the family, however, showed an absence of any such preference, which is rather an exception. On the whole, it may be said that as among the Gorkhas, so among the Newars, the partiality for the son exists. But unlike the Gorkhas, they do not lament the birth of a daughter. Once their desire for a first son is fulfilled, the Newars fervently wish the second child to be born a daughter.

The habit of prognosticating the sex of the unborn child is nothing peculiar to the Newars as it is also shared

by the other inhabitants of the country. A woman who is agile, bright of face and of charming disposition during the state of her pregnancy is said to bear a son. Sluggishness, worn-out look and drowsiness are some of the indications of a daughter. If the child is felt to be on the right side of the womb, it is taken to be a son and if on the left, a daughter.

Twins are not very common among the Newars. In the whole of Panga village one case has been recorded, and three cases from Kathmandu. The Panga twins belong to the Jyapoo caste. But in none of the sample families collected ^{is} there ~~is~~ any case of it. A belief is current that the twins rarely survive. Regarding twins of opposite sex, they entertain a strange belief: if the male child is born first, the twins are believed to have been husband and wife in their past life and are to be married to each other in this life also. Another explanation in support of the above belief is that a woman who ^{becomes a} ~~performs~~ 'sati' in this life is reborn in the next life along with her husband as twins. It was enquired of many Newars whether such twins were really married to each other and they told that in order to avoid such a situation, the female child ~~among~~

the twins is usually announced as having born first. But the writer was told that, in some cases, they secretly undergo ceremonial marriage in childhood, but it is never disclosed. For all practical purposes, however, they are treated as brother and sister. If the twins are both ^{moles} sons, they are believed by the Hindu Newars, to be the reincarnation of Ram and Lakshaman.

The belief of the Newars about the influence of the planets and stars on the birth of the child is not significantly different from the other Hindus who consult Shastras. It is, however, significant to record that the life of a child born in the months of Kartik and Asadh is believed to be full of struggles. A child born under the influence of the 'Mūl-Nakshatra' is said certainly to cause the death of either or both of its parents. Such a child is usually brought up in its maternal uncle's house and the parents never see its face. The Udas caste does not seem to subscribe to this belief. There is no cultural difference between the Newars and the Gorkhas in such matters.

The delivery always takes place in the husband's home. The Newars do not permit a female descendant of the

family to give birth to her child in their own homes. Even where a 'Ghar Jawain' is kept, the delivery of the married daughter takes place not in the house of her father. She is sent to a different place. Occasions do arise when a pregnant woman comes to live in her parents home after a divorce or a quarrel with her husband. The Newars meet such occasions by sending her to her husband's home during the delivery period. If, however, she is not welcomed there, she is sent to some other place to have her delivery. Afterwards, she is brought back by her parents with the child. One example from Panga is illustrative of a situation like this: A Shrestha Newar had illicit relations with a Jyapoo woman who became pregnant. The man and his family refused to afford shelter to the pregnant woman and she had, therefore, to return to her parents' home. At the time of her delivery, she was sent to a different house in the locality. Afterwards, the child and its mother were brought back by the latter's parents. At the time of the enquiry by the writer the child was a boy of two years and was living with his maternal grand parents, while his mother had been remarried to a Jyapoo. This particular care taken by the Newars to taboo the deliveries of their female descendants

in their homes presents a contrast to the practice of the Gorkhas who do not observe such restrictions. In fact, the Gorkhas generally prefer the first delivery of their married daughters to take place in their own house.

Just a few weeks before the delivery, the representatives of the woman's natal home pay her a visit. This custom is known as 'Dhau Bajee Nake Wanegu' or going to feed the woman with 'Bajee' and 'Dhau'. It is not known which particular date is selected for this visit. But it is stated that ^D'Dhau Bajee Nake Wanegu' takes place on the stipulation that the delivery might come off within a fortnight or so. Under this custom, the representatives of the woman's natal home visit her with 'Dhau' and 'Bajee', sweets, fruits, fried meat, fish, eggs, liquor and rice beer, tho(n). After feeding the woman to her heart's content, the visiting members return. As regards its significance, it is believed that the child in the womb expects to be fed before being born. Unless the mother is sufficiently fed with 'dhau' and 'bajee', the child is said to refuse to be born. Another belief is that if they fail to perform the 'Dhau-Bajee-Nake-Wagemu' the child is said to be a glutton with saliva always dripping from its mouth. It was given to understand through

a different source that such feeding is meant to render smooth^{the} birth of the child.

After the 'Dhau-Bajee-Nake-Wangemu' the members of the pregnant woman's parents' family never visit or otherwise see her until the news of the birth of a child has been formally conveyed to them.

As soon as the woman is in her travail, she retires into a dark room. Well-to-do families keep a special room for this purpose. In the case of the poor, any room is utilised. Generally, a slightly dark room, unexposed to direct breeze is selected. The windows are shut so as to prevent the cold wind from coming in. A bundle of paddy straw is spread over the floor. A cotton bed is laid over it. If there is any string suspended anywhere in the room, it is removed. Care is taken to see that the woman does not have any kind of knots in her clothes, hair, bed etc. She is then made to lie down on the bed. The 'Aji' is in constant attendance.

The duties of an 'aji' includes besides that of a midwife, propitiation of 'Ajima', the goddess of small-pox, and the daily massaging of the mother and^{the} child. The

duration of her services generally lasts until the purificatory rites are concluded.

At the time of delivery and afterwards, the woman is given a little quantity of mustard oil to drink. During the process of the delivery, the 'Aji' manipulates the foetus. When the child is born, she cleans the child with luke-warm water and soap. The baby is then wrapped in a white towel. Pressing the nose, head, etc. of the child with a view to shaping them also forms part of the 'Aji's' duty. Afterwards, she proceeds to worship 'Aji Ma'. At the worship five heaps, each containing jaggery, 'Imu' (*corum copticum* seeds), ginger, 'Bajee', black pulse and fruits are made. Such offerings are then distributed among the members of the family. These offerings are known as 'Sisa Palu'.

The child's maternal uncle is the principal person connected with the event. Immediately after the birth of the child, arrangements are, therefore, made to convey the news to him. The messenger engaged for this purpose has a ritual function. Among the high caste Newars, the messenger is drawn from the Jyapoo caste. A caste lower than the Jyapoo has its own messenger to do the work.

The child's maternal uncle comes to know the sex of the child by the quantity of material the messenger brings. In the case of the birth of a male child the messenger brings an unbroken betelnut, a complete slab of jaggery, a little quantity of salt, ginger and 'Imu' (corum copticum seeds). If the child happens to be a female, only half the portion of the betelnut and half the slab of jaggery are sent. The messenger is accorded a cordial welcome. He is offered 'Saga(n)', which includes boiled egg, liquor, dried fish, boiled meat and 'Tho(n)'. The members of the child's maternal uncle's family take charge of the articles brought by the messenger. These materials are returned through the same messenger after having made an equal addition to them.

On birth, both the child and the mother are affected by pollution, but not the other members of the family. The other members of the family become impure only when the

umbilical cord is cut. Pollution applies not only to the members of the family of birth, but also to all members of the 'Fukee' families. The child's father's sister, mother's brother and the married daughters of the family are, however, not at all affected.

The umbilical cord is generally cut on the fourth day. There is, however, no strict rules in regard to this. It may be cut on the same day also. The Duniya Newars generally prefer to cut it on the very day of birth. But if the child-birth intervenes some important ceremonies or festivals taking place among the 'Fukees', the cutting of the umbilical cord is delayed until after the ceremony is concluded.

The cutting of ^{the} umbilical cord is performed by the 'Naini' who hails from the Kasai caste. Castes lower than the Kasai have their own 'Naini' from their castes. While cutting the umbilical cord, the Newars taboo Saturdays. The 'Naini' comes upto the threshold of the room. The mother and the baby are brought to her. A betelnut is placed on the threshold and over it, the 'Naini' cuts the

umbilical cord. After cutting the umbilical cord, the 'Naini' has another important ritual to perform. She takes a little water in her hand and puts into the mouth of the newly born baby. For the performance of this function, the 'Naini' is paid her traditional gift of flattened rice or paddy and a few coins.

The disposal of the placenta and the umbilical cord is also the duty of the 'Naini'. It is not thrown away anywhere but is deposited in an earthen pot along with boiled rice, boiled eggs, parched rice, black soyabean, some pieces of buffalo's meat, ginger and 'Shiya bajee' (a special kind of 'Bajee') and placed at the 'Chhwasa', a place in every locality, where all inauspicious things are thrown away by the Newars. The Newars believe that the 'Chhwasa' is haunted by the 'Chhwasa Aji Ma' who is the younger sister of 'Aji Ma' (Please see Chapter on Religion).

It is stated that there is another method of disposing of the umbilical cord which relates to that of a male child only. It is said that if a Newar father wishes to make his son a public servant, he buries the umbilical cord near the walls of the former Newar Raja's palace.

On the other hand, if he wants to make him a farmer, the cord is buried in a paddy field. The present writer was unable to confirm this from the Newars of Panga and *the* Kathmandu town.

Northey and Morris* state that soon after the cutting of the umbilical cord, the baby is washed in 'Sherbet'. It was hard to find any evidence in confirmation of this statement in the Kathmandu Valley. Most of the Newars whom the writer met, confessed their ignorance of this practice. The usual practice at present is as stated earlier to clean the child with luke-warm water and soap.

There is some restriction on the diet of the woman after delivery. She is not allowed to eat pulse, salt and black soyabeans, but is given enough quantity of jaggery, ghee and meat. The restriction lasts till the 'Macha Bu Benke' is performed.

Meanwhile, two or three days after delivery, the female members of the child's maternal uncle's home pay a

* Northey & Morris - The Gorkhas, 1928, p. 176.

visit to the mother and her child. This custom is known as 'Macha-Bu-gu-Ka⁽ⁿ⁾-Wanegu'. For this visit, care is taken to avoid Tuesdays. The significance of this taboo is, however, not known. The visiting females present some coins to the newly born child; and the mother of the child is presented with half the amount. This ritual of presenting coin is known as 'Dachhina-Chha-ye-gu'. The amount presented to the child goes to the 'Aji'. The visiting women are then feasted at the instance of the child's father. They return the same day. But they are again sent by the child's maternal uncle on the following day for feeding the mother with 'Bajee' and meat in which one item prepared out of buffalo meat, rice-beer and liquor is essential. This custom is commonly known as 'La-Na-Ka-Wanegu' or 'Macha-Bu-Swo-Wanegu'. The eatables include 'Bajee' (chewra), fried in ghee, jaggery and many kinds of fried meat.

The birth purificatory rite is known as 'Macha-Bu Benke-gu'. It is generally held on the sixth day of the birth in case of the first child and on the fourth day for the subsequent children. Some of the Shivrangi Shresthas of Kathmandu, however, perform this ceremony on the tenth day, after the fashion of the Gorkhas.

It is very significant to note that generally all materials required for the 'Macha-Bu-Benke-gu' are provided by the child's maternal uncle. These paraphernalia can be divided into three kinds: (i) those required for the child; (ii) those for the general use; (iii) those required for the mother. For the child, the maternal uncle sends a cotton cap, a shirt, two rings, one of gold and another of silver, mustard oil, one mohar (Nepalese half rupee), a piece each of white and yellow cloth, 'Lu-incha' and 'Oha-incha', bed pillow stuffed with black mustard seeds, one cotton padded quilt and a straw mat. The pillow stuffed with black mustard seeds on which the child's head is placed is designed to ensure proper shape to the head, since such a pillow provides an appropriate cavity for the head to rest. The materials meant for the mother include 'La(n)' (blouse), 'Pursi' (a saree), 'Ga' (a shawl) for rough use, and also another shawl made of fine linen and a straw mat. Besides these, the general items contain provision for the feast, among which a buffalo's head, a load of worshipping material, rice, flowers, fruits and a little quantity of vermilion to be used as 'Sinha' are important. The Jyapoo who brings these articles is treated to a feast first. On his return,

a load of salt is handed over to him to be presented to the child's maternal uncle in lieu of what he had given in connection with the 'Macha-Bu-Benke-gu'.

The sending of these materials by the child's maternal uncle is obligatory only at the 'Benke' of the first child. But, if the first child is a female and the second one a male, the maternal uncle has again to send them. The important point is that the first male child must have the material for its 'Benke' sent by its maternal uncle, in addition to ~~that~~ what is sent in respect of the first child.

On the 'Macha^{-Bu-}Benke-gu' day all the members of the family and other agnates of the child are required to undergo the purification ceremony of 'Nisi-Yae-gu' which includes, besides bath, the rituals of 'Lusi-Thike-gu' and 'Ala-tayegu'. The functions involved in the last two named rituals are performed by the barber. The lower castes manage to get some one from among their own caste to perform such functions. The cutting of nails 'Lusi-Thi-Kegu' and dyeing the toes and fingers 'Ala-to-ye-gu' as part of the purificatory rites, ^{are} ~~is~~ peculiar to the Newars and not shared by the Gorkhas*.

* Compare this with a similar practice among the people of Bihar.

Besides personal purification the house is also purified, an act which is also shared by the Gorkhas. First of all, all the floors of the house is besmeared with cow-dung solution. In addition, cow's milk is sprinkled all over the floors of the house. This is known as 'Sa-Duru-Ha-Ha-yae-gu'. After these preliminaries are ~~over~~, the parents of the child are made to sit side by side. The child is placed in its mother's lap. The mother is presented with the material brought for her from her parents' house. The father is also presented with some clothes. The child is then annointed with the mustard oil brought from its maternal uncle's house. Some rice is sprinkled on it. The two rings mentioned earlier are put into its fingers. At this stage, the 'Aji' picks up the child from its mother's lap and places it on the lap of its father. This is formal acceptance of the fatherhood of the child. The 'Aji', the mother and the child then retire into the room where the delivery occurred. The 'Aji' once again worships the 'Aji-Ma'. At this worship, the objects brought from the child's maternal uncle's house are used. The 'Aji' makes five big heaps and ten small ones of each material in the same way as at the time of child's birth. The 'Aji'

first worships the deity of her profession and then the 'Aji-Ma'. Out of the five big heaps made by her, she takes away two for herself and the rest are left in the room with a burning wicker lamp. In the morning the 'Ajee' takes away the ten small heaps (usually called 'Aga(n) bo' to the street and calls out 'Aga(n)-Bo-Ka-Wa-Masta' (Come, children, to receive 'Aga(n) Bo'). Having distributed the ten shares to ten children, she retires to her house. The 'Aji's work is now over. For the role she plays in the rites connected with birth, she receives a fixed payment both in cash and kind.

Next follows the communal feast. The members participating in this feast are classified into two categories. The first includes the 'Fuhee' members, i.e. all agnatic members united under a common 'Dewali Guthi'; and the second 'Mhya-Masta' i.e. the married daughters; For this purpose, it is not obligatory to invite the husbands of the married daughters of the family. The feast is the clearest manifestation of social solidarity among the consanguine-relatives.

After twenty one days, the mother prepares to leave for her parents' home with her child. But before

that, the 'Mhya-Masta' and 'Bhina-Masta' pay her a ceremonial visit. The woman proceeds to her natal home in a 'dooly' sent by her parents, while a Jyapoo woman follows her on foot with the newly born child in her arms. No ceremonial welcome is essential to them at the woman's natal house. She remains in her natal home for a month or so, when ample care and attention is given to her dietary.

During the period of her sojourn, her mother-in-law pays her occasional visits to her with 'Postiga(n)*'. Another relative who pays ceremonial visit to the woman while she is in her natal home is the newly-born child's father's sister who comes to present the 'Pi-Yu-Cha' (a golden bangle) and a necklace of red coral beads to the baby. This custom is known as 'Pi-Yu-Cha-Nhaye-Ke-gu'. The period of stay in her parents' home usually does not exceed a month and a half. After a month or so the woman returns to her husband's home along with the child, when the usual formal call is made by her husband.

* A special kind of nourishing sweat-meat usually given to the woman in her post-delivery period.

In the initial stage, the child sleeps with its mother. For the first six months it is fed entirely on the mother's milk. In case the mother has a dry breast the child is fed on goat's milk or cow's or buffalo's. There are no regular hours of feeding and whenever the child is hungry and starts crying, it is fed.

If the mother is required to work outside, as it usually happens with the poor, some regularity is maintained in the hours of feeding. The usual hours as reported from Panga are 9 A.M., 11 A.M., 2 P.M. and 6 P.M. During their absence from home the mothers leave the child to the care of their inmates of the house, especially aged people or young girls. In case the child fails to suck, as it some times happens, it is fed on 'Sattu'*, a paste of rice flour fried in ghee.

Fostering is very rare among the Newars. In the event of the mother's death or her breasts being dry, the child is fed on the breasts of any other female member of the family. In the majority of cases, however, the

* It should not be confused with gram-flour which is generally taken to mean in India. The Newars use this term to designate rice-flour.

traditional practice is to feed the child with the 'Sattu'. In this respect, the Newars culturally differ from the Gorkhas among whom it is the common practice to appoint a wet nurse on whose milk the child is fed, provided it is economically feasible. Such wet-nurses may be chosen from any clean caste and are called 'Dhai-Ama' (suckling mother). A special status is accorded to them as distinct from the other maid servants. But among the Newars, the writer could not find a single instance of keeping such wet nurses.

A couple who have failed to beget a child may resort to adoption. Adoption also takes place when children do not survive in the family. Parents of such a family offer their child to be adopted by some one. On adoption, the child belongs to the adopting parents' family and consequently, its caste also changes. In all respects, the child is treated as if it had really been one's own child.

The parents wanting to adopt a child consult the 'Fukee' members, especially so when they live in a joint family. The ceremony is relatively a simple one. The relatives of both the adopting and the real parents assemble in whose presence a written agreement is drawn up by the latter in favour of the former and the child is formally transferred to the adopting parents with 'Kush' grass and water.

Adoption is generally preferred from among the children of the agnates because they can propitiate the 'Kul' deity. A distinction is also made between a child who is adopted before its umbilical cord is cut and the one adopted afterwards. In the latter type of adoption, though the child can inherit property, it cannot participate in the worship of the 'Kul' deity of the adopting family. The restriction is, however, lifted, if it is descended from the same family stock.

Inter-caste adoption can also take place. But in such cases, if the child is from the higher caste, it is accepted into the caste of the adopting parents. If it is from the lower caste it retains its own caste. In both the types of adoptions, the child can neither perform 'Pyao-Tha-ye-gu' (Śrādhā) or propitiate the 'Kul' deity of the family of adoption.

Cases of adoption are, however, extremely rare. The writer could not come across a single instance of adoption in all the 224 sample families in his collection. Further enquiry in the village of Panga showed that there was no case of adoption there. But Shrestha Newar in the

nearby village of Jakha was, however, reported to have adopted a son from his own caste. There was one instance of inter-caste adoption discovered in the town of Kathmandu which related^{to} the adoption of a child of a 'Deo-Bhaju' by a Shrestha, such adoption being designated by the Nepalese term 'Dan'. The Shrestha brought up the child as a Brahman and not as a Shrestha and he made a will of his all property in favour of the adopted boy. He could have under the custom made the boy a Shrestha by caste if he so desired.

There is also a practice among the Newars when grown up persons may be transferred to some other family as 'Dan'. An example of such transfer is provided by the following case of K.B.Shrestha. K.B.Shrestha's father one day went to the bank of Bagmati river and presented a picture of his son to the Brahmin, and thereby completing the 'Dan' of his son. The Brahmin priest accepted the 'Dan' together with a sum of Rs.5,000.00 towards the cost of maintenance. When K.B.Shrestha came to know what his father had done, he became enraged and filed a suit against the transaction. Now, he is not living with his adopted parents. The motive for this transaction, it was stated, was to get rid of the huge debts K.B.Shrestha had incurred,

since the 'Dan' absolves the father of the legal liability to pay off the debts contracted by his son on the security of the family property. Though such cases of 'Dan' is rare, this particular example serves to demonstrate the Newar father's traditional right to give ^{his} ~~their~~ sons by way of 'Dan'.

The babies begin to crawl about the ninth month or so. At this stage the child is helped to stand and made to walk a little by holding its hands. Later, the child attempts to walk by supporting against the wall. The first successful attempt of the child to stand is a source of ~~immense~~ ecstasy. All the members of the family feel attracted by it.

Teething begins at the eighth or ninth month and all the milk teeth generally appear within a year. If the baby has any difficulty in cutting the teeth or if any other trouble ensues, the local physician is consulted who not only gives medicine, but also uses magical formulae to ward off the influence of evil spirits and of evil eyes, which are believed to cause such troubles. There is a special deity in Kathmandu known ^{as} 'Wa-Shya-Dya' which is worshipped in order to get rid of toothache. This worship

consists in driving a nail into the tree-butt which represents 'Wa-Shya-Deo'.

The child is believed to be too much susceptible to the influence of evil spirits and the anger of the malignant deities which are thought to dwell every where in the Valley. The Newar woman is always haunted by the mortal fear of her child being attacked by such malignant deities. All ^{the} diseases of children are attributed to such evil spirits and deities, chief among which is the 'Aji Ma'. The child is also believed to be constantly exposed to the effects of ^{an} the evil eye. Hence isolation of the child from all strangers becomes the first concern of the Newar mother. To avoid such dangerous efforts, collyrium which is known in Newari as 'Aja' is applied to the forehead of the child. The child is also protected by special charms and amulets.

When a child falls ill, a ^{traditional} physician may refuse to attend to it unless the act of propitiation is done to please the malignant spirits believed to be responsible for it or to ward off the evil influence of some enemy. Frequent worships are held in honour of 'Aji-Ma' and her six sisters.

The 'Aji-Ma is offered dried frogs to be had from the market. Now-a-days though modern medical facilities are within the reach of those who can afford to have it, nevertheless they retain the traditional method also. This attitude is not peculiar to the Newars, but is also common to the other inhabitants of the Valley. The non-Newars of the Valley do not dare to question the local beliefs and they fear the local deities to be responsible for diseases as much as the Newars.

The Newars give their children two names - one based on the horoscope and another for addressing them personally. But naming does not involve any ceremony as distinguished from the Gorkhas for whom it is an important ceremonial occasion. The horoscope name is given by the Joshi who is the hereditary astrologer. This may take place any time before the birth purificatory rite is concluded. The other name may be given any time before the child attains the age of two. In ^{the} Kathmandu region, where the Gorkhas are too numerous, the Newars utilise the occasion of rice feeding ceremony for the naming of the child. The ^{naming} ~~making~~ is usually done by the father's sister. But even then, it does not

involve any formal ceremony. The names are usually after the fashion of the Hindus. There is, however, an exception in regard to the Duniya Newars among whom the naming is reported to be done by the grand-parents and the names are generally after the names of their parents or week days. Despite the naming, the child continues to be referred to as 'Macha' (child) till it is able to walk and talk.

The first initiation ceremony of a Newar child is the rice feeding ceremony. The Newars call it 'Junko'. But to avoid its confusion with another type of 'Junko' known as 'Burha-Junko' (old age initiation ceremony), they prefix it with 'Macha-Bu' meaning thereby the initiation of a child after birth. The Newars of Kathmandu town and its vicinity have side by side adopted the Nepali term 'Pasani' or 'Annaprasan' to denote the rice feeding ceremony. But in a region like Bhatgaon or Sankhu, where the hold of tradition is comparatively stronger, the term 'Junko' is more preferred to 'Pasani' or 'Annaprasan'.

The 'Macha Junko' is held at different periods for boys and girls. For girls, it is held either after

five or seven months, always insisting on odd months, and for boys it takes place in the sixth ~~month~~ or eighth month, the even months being invariably chosen. From a different source a contrary statement was obtained to the effect that the 'Junko' of a son is never preferred in the sixth month, as it is believed that he will turn out to be a thief. Such a belief is grounded upon the phonetic similarity between the two words 'Khula' (sixth month of the year) and 'Khun' (thief). But the writer is inclined to believe that there is no strict taboo against holding the 'Junko' of a child in the sixth month. Many of the Newars have been found not subscribing to such a belief.

An auspicious date for the 'Junko' of the first child is fixed in consultation with the Joshi. This may be dispensed with in the case of subsequent children. The lower castes seldom consult the astrologers even for the 'Junko' of the first child. Wednesdays and Thursdays are considered auspicious to hold the 'Junko' and Mondays and Saturdays as inauspicious, being very unkind days.

Well ahead of the day of the 'Junko', all the relatives of the family are formally invited to participate in the ceremony. The relatives, participating in 'Macha-

'~~Da~~-Junko' fall into kinship categories like 'Mhya Masta', 'Bhena Masta', 'Daju-Kija-Khala', 'Fukee' members, 'Paju-Khala' and minor relatives and neighbours. They bring with them 'Dhau-Sagan'. The child's maternal uncle is under the special obligation to send articles of worship, clothes for the child and its mother, and some other items which are insisted upon by the force of tradition. These are carried to the child's father's house in a load which is known as 'Koo' in Newari. The articles for the child include a shirt, 'Topu' (cap), a pair of 'Kali' (silver ornament for the ankles); and for the mother, a sari, a 'Dechha', (blouse) and a 'Ga' for the child's father.

A day earlier to the 'Junko', the members of the family in which the child is born undergo the purificatory ritual of 'Nisi-Ya~~Ye~~-gu'. The house is also purified with a solution of cow-dung and red-soil.

But on the day of the 'Junko', family ablutions may or may not be performed. But in any case, the child

is given a bath, after which it is brought to the room where the ceremony is to take place. It is made to sit on the symbol of 'Swastika' drawn on the floor near the threshold. Now the 'Lassu-Kussu' ritual is performed. The 'Thakali Naki' holds the 'Ta-Cha' (the long traditional iron key) in her hand and touches the boy with it. The 'Noku-Naki' then goes forward towards the place of worship sprinkling water on the way from a 'Karua'. The child is conducted through the water mark by the 'Thakali-Naki' and made to sit near the place of worship with his face towards the east. The deities to be worshipped include a 'Kalash' containing water and 'Panchamarit' at the top of which, is kept an earthen dish containing rice, coins and a betel-nut. Inside the 'Kalash' are some flowers known as 'Dafo-Swan'. To the left of the 'Kalash' two earthen dishes with 'Sagan' are placed, to the right of it is placed the 'Sukunda', or the traditional oil lamp with a serpentine handle which represents Ganesh. There is also the 'Thaye-bhu' (a big dish) with a pedestal containing 84 kinds of food preparations known as 'Chaurasi Vyanjan'.

First the priest worships the three main deities which are a necessary accompaniment of all the Newar

ceremonies. These are Ganesh, Bhairava, Kumari and Bajra-Jogini or Kali. Then the child is made to worship the 'Guru-Mandal', a geometrical design drawn in front of him. Then a little mixture of cow-dung, milk and 'Duba' grass (*cynodon dactylon*) is ritually purified by the priest with the chanting of 'mantras' and the solution is sprinkled over the child. Also, a little of it is given to the child to drink. Then, two dishes, each containing some 'Bajee', black soyabean and ginger are worshipped by the priest as symbols representing evil spirits from whom the child has to be protected. These dishes are removed by the 'Thakali-Naki' and thrown away at the 'Chhwasa' of the locality. While carrying these dishes, she is forbidden to look back or speak or touch any one. On her return, the child is worshipped by the priest. Afterwards, the 'Thakali-Naki' also worships him. Then the 'Thaye-bhu' containing the food is brought. First of all, the 'Thakali-Naki' and the 'Noku-Naki' take a little of the rice over a gold coin from the 'Thaye-bhu' and feed the child five times. This is the feeding of 'Panch-grasa'. Among the poor, a copper coin is substituted for th

the gold one. The parents and the other members of the family then follow suit. It is a common belief among the Newars that if the child weeps at this stage, it is taken to be a good omen. After the feeding ritual, the child is clothed in the dress sent by the maternal uncle. Then a big tray containing toys, paddy, bricks, soil, ear-ring, silver ornaments for legs, a book, a pen and a ink-pot etc., are placed before the child. The child's future career is inferred from the nature of the object it picks up from among these. If, for instance, it picks up the soil, it is said to become a farmer.

The 'Thaye-bhu' ritual being over, the maternal uncle carries the child in his arms to the temple of Ganesh, where the deity is worshipped. After circumambulating the temple, they return home and the child is offered 'Sagan' on behalf of the family, which is followed by the offering of 'Sagan' brought from the child's maternal uncle's house. Then, all the 'Sagan' brought by the other relatives are mixed together and distributed among them. Then follows the feast.

The employment of a Brahmin priest at the time of the 'Junko' is not essential in respect of many castes.

The low castes have their own arrangements, such functions being generally performed by their 'Thakalis'.

It may be mentioned that many of the deities worshipped by the Newars on the 'Macha-Junko' day as also in their other ceremonies, are not different from those of the Gorkhas, among whom also the principal objects of worship at the 'Pasani' are the lamp, 'Kalash' and Ganesh which is in the form of a betel-nut kept on a heap of rice. But the deities like Bhairava, Kumari and Kali do not figure among them nor are intoxicating drinks like liquor and 'jnar' (rice beer) ritually important.

A piercing of the nose is not a culture-trait of the Newars. Persons may some times be outcasted on this ground alone. Not a single Newar man or woman can be seen wearing a nose ornament although it is a very common feature among the other communities like the Gorkhas, Tamangs, Gurungs, Magars, Rais and Limbus, who are very fond of obstrusive nose ornaments. Ear piercing is, however, an unique feature of the Newars especially of their women-folk. But it does not involve any ceremony. A Newar woman has a number of holes in the ear-lobes decorated with gold rings. There is no fixed time for the piercing

of the ear. But generally in the case of boys it is done at the time of 'Busākha' ceremony. While in case of a woman one hole may be made in their childhood and many more just before their marriage so as to enable them to wear the necessary traditional ornaments. A Newar woman can be easily distinguished from others by the ornaments she wears on her ears.

The tonsure ceremony of the Newars is called 'Bu-Sa-Kha'. It signifies the removal of the hair of birth and thus it is a pollution removal ceremony. Many sections of the Newars dispense with it. As for example, the Vanras, ^{the} Udas and ^{the} Manandhars who belong to the Budaha Margi group are said not to observe it. In the case of ^{the} Shiv-Margi Newars it is, however, essential. Generally it takes place between the ages of three and eleven. On enquiry it was told that only ^{the} male children are initiated through this ceremony.

For 'Bhu-Sa-Kha' ceremony to take place, an auspicious date is selected in consultation with the astrologer. On the appointed day the ceremony starts with the sacrifice of a hen or duck to Ganesh. After that

'Sradha' ceremony takes place which is a necessary accompaniment to all the domestic ceremonies. It is a common belief that for any auspicious occasion in the house the invoking of the blessing of the dead ancestors is most essential. Otherwise the ancestors may be displeased and a calamity may befall on the members of the family. In the 'Sradh' ceremony pindas of barley are offered to the ancestors. Pinda offering is made to the relatives of seven generations both on the agnetic and cognatic sides.

The main function takes place only on the following day. A ceremonial booth is constructed for this purpose. For the construction of such a booth generally a temple of Ganesh or 'Chaitya' is preferred but it may be constructed even in the quadrangle of the house or in front of it. The worshipping object includes 'Jwala-Nhyakan' (a traditional bronze mirror), 'Shinamu' (a pyramid like bronze pot for keeping vermillion) and 'Sukunda' (a bronze lamp). These three traditional articles are essential in all ^{the} religious ceremonies. Besides several heaps of mixture of paddy and rice are placed on the floor to represent the 'Asanas' (sitting places) of various gods and goddesses that are

to be worshipped in the function. Such gods and goddesses comprise two types: firstly those who are malignant and whose displeasure is sure to bring some unhappy incidents. It, therefore, becomes necessary to ward off the evil influence of such deities. Such deities include Bhairava, Bhadra-Kali and 'Aji-Ma'. The second set of divinities are Ganesh,^{the} Kul-deity and the presiding-deity of the locality, Laxmi and the Dewali-deity. Besides, a set of eight other goddesses called 'Ashta-Matrika' ^{is} are also worshipped. These different divine personalities are propitiated with ^{the} profuse offerings of buffalo meat and liquor, which is an unique feature which distinguishes the Newars from the other Hindu communities.

On the appointed date for the ceremony, the Brahmin priest officiates in the function. The Brahmin priest is, however, replaced by a Gubhaju priest in such ceremonies as ^{are} connected with the Buddha Margi Newars. Under the guidance of the priest, the 'Thakali' of the clan or family as the case may be, performs the 'Sankalpa' ritual. It consists in offering flowers and rice firstly to 'Sukunda', then to 'Panch-Bali' and finally to 'Ashta-

Matrika'. 'Sukunda' as we have already noted earlier, represents Ganesh which looms large in all the religious activities of the Newars. This being over, the boy who is to be initiated is brought to the place of worship through the 'Lassa-Kussa' ritual. He sits on the left side of the priest who ^{the} faces east. The feet of the boy ^{are} worshipped by the 'Thakali'. A ritual garland made of five kinds of leaves namely Bar (*Ficus bengalensis*), Peepal (*Ficus religiosa*), Bimri, Mango and Palas (*Butea frondosa*) is offered to the boy. Such garland is known as 'Panch-Shikha' which also contains a golden ring of 'Nava-Ratna(nine jewels). Then arrangement is made for the shaving off the boy's ^{head}. But before the barber shaves his hair, the razor to be used in this connection has to be ritually purified. Here the father's sister steps in. She takes a plate, goes to the barber and brings the razor to the priest. The razor having been worshipped, she ^{it back} again takes the razor to the barber. Now the boy's mother's brother comes forward and massages the boy's head with mustard oil while the father's sister holds the cup of oil to assist the former. After that the mother's brother makes the pretence of cutting ~~off~~ the boy's hair. He cuts a few locks of the hair and puts

that into a plate being held by the boy's father's sister. Thereafter the barber proceeds with his work. Some of the well-to-do Newars get a golden razor, to be used by the maternal uncle. After this being over, the barber shaves the hair and the father's sister collects them in a plate. The boy afterwards offers a ball of sweetmeat to the barber while the maternal uncle ~~is~~ ^{he} strikes the barber's head with another ball of sweetmeat. This hair-cutting ceremony is also the proper occasion for piercing of the ear which is done by the barber. But it is not ritually insisted upon.

While the above is a predominant practice among the Newars of the Valley, a slightly different tradition is stated to be followed in other regions. For, the Shrestha of Okhaldhunga (to the east of the Valley) have some what peculiar practice with regard to the place to be selected where the hair should be cut. Among them it is reported that the boy is taken to ^a cow shed where he is bound by ~~the~~ rope to be used for tying up the cow's neck and then the hair is cut by the maternal uncle and not by the barber.

When the barber finishes his work, the boy takes bath and is then brought to the Mandap (ceremonial booth)

through the 'Lassa-Kussa' ritual. But this time the 'Thakali-Naki' is awaited from the temple of Ganesh where she had gone earlier for the Ganesh worship. After having returned, she takes a long key with which she brings into contact with symbols of gods and goddesses in the 'Mandap' and then she brings the same key into contact with the forehead of the boy. Then the boy is made to worship all the deities under ^{the} guidance of the priest. He also offers a little quantity of rice to the father's house by throwing it up into the air. This is strangely known as 'Griha-Laxmi-Puja' thus identifying the father's house with the goddess of wealth. Then follows the presentation of new clothes to the boy. The 'Thakali' applies 'Sinha' on the boy's forehead and his wife, 'Thakali-Naki' makes the presentation of the clothes to the boy. Then the 'Thakali-Naki' performs the ritual of 'Pathi-Lui-gu'. It is done by pouring over the boy's head fruits, flowers etc. three times from a grain measuring pot called 'Pathi'. After that she makes obeisance to the boy by touching his knees, shoulders and head three times and then touching her own head. This is a part of the 'Pathi-Lui-gu' ritual. This ritual is followed by a communal recognition of the new status of the boy in which all the relatives including the 'Thakali',

'Thakali-Naki', parents of the boy and his maternal uncle offer flowers, fruit, rice and coins to him. Then follows the 'Brahma-Puja' (worship of the priest). 'Neeni-Puja' (worship of the father's sister) is the next item of the ceremony. In both the cases the priest and the father's sister are presented with new clothes and a few coins. This being over, the 'Jwalah-Nhai-Ka(n)' is worshipped by the 'Thakali' before he takes it in his hand. He then shows it to the deities and then to the relatives present there. The 'Thakali-Naki' on her part worships the 'Shinha-Mu' and then picks it up in her hand. Thus all the Newar ceremonies end after the display of these two traditional objects. The next item of the ceremony is the presentation of 'Saga(n)'. The function is rounded off with a communal feast. With regard to the hairs of the boy they are taken to some river and thrown into it.

The first initiation ceremony of a girl is called 'Yihee'. 'Yihee' means marriage. But now-a-days it is more in vogue for signifying the mock marriage of a girl which closely corresponds to the 'Talikettu-Kalyanam' ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar. Girls, when they are normally between the ages of four and eleven undergo a

marriage with god Narayan. It is also known as 'Suvarna Kumar Vivah'. More popularly, but quite erroneously, it is called marriage with bel-fruit. All the earlier writers on the customs of Newars have described it as marriage with bel-fruit. The writer's enquiry has definitely confirmed that the girl is married to god Narayan. The bel-fruit is a necessary accompaniment, no doubt, to the golden picture of Narayan. But it is taken for a witness to the marriage and not itself the object with which the marriage is performed.

'Yihee' ceremony is looked upon with high veneration by the Newars. It is regarded as the most strenuous and sacred of all the domestic rituals. It is an event for the display of great religious piety. People from far and wide come to pay homage and obeisance to the girl to be initiated through this ceremony. No other ceremony, perhaps in the life cycle of a Newar individual, is worked out so minutely as this one. This ceremony by necessity should be undergone before the girl reaches the stage of puberty. Theoretically, its value to the Newars is as important as the pre-puberty marriage of a Brahmin girl under the Hindu custom. During the period of his stay

in Kathmandu the writer made several enquiries from the Newars of different social, economic and educational status as to why they attached so much importance to 'Yihee' when it had become one of the principal reasons for their being looked down upon by the politically dominant Brahminic Gorkhas who regard 'Yihee' ceremony as non-Brahminic. The Newars reacted sensitively to the very suggestion of abolishing it. They still feel proud in following this traditional custom. The general opinion among them was that so long as 'Yihee' was not harmful they did not find any reason to abandon it simply because men of other culture did not like it. Recently the Newars who form a microscopic minority in the border town of Birganj had decided to dispense with the Yihee ceremony under pressure of local opinion. Some of them had even gone to the extent of bypassing the Yihee of their daughters. This was adversely reacted to by the Newars of Kathmandu who decided to boycott marriage with such uninitiated girls of Birganj. The traditional views ultimately prevailed. It is understood now that the 'Yihee' ceremony has again been revived by the Birganj Newars. The submission to the traditional views is attributable to the over-riding influence the Kathmandu Newars wield. For marriage relations the Newars

of other regions, in the majority of cases, are required to contact with the Kathmandu Valley, since it is the stronghold of the members of the Newar community. Newars living outside the Valley are unable to have their say unless they are in a position to get suitable mates locally. Their small number does not allow such local dependence for marriages.

The ceremony of 'Yihee' is functionally related to the marriage and divorce. Its role in the Newar society is to give recognition to the customs of remarriage and divorce. It is the ground on which the marriage of a girl with her social husband is not recognised as sacrament since this ceremony of 'Yihee' is taken to be the marriage with god Narayan who is immortal. A Newar girl is, therefore, never believed to be a widow, if her social husband dies. She can in theory remarry as many times as she chooses to do. This again vests in her the right to divorce. In spite of manifest dominance of the Brahminic influence on the Newar marriage with the inclusion of Hindu deities for worship, the custom of 'Yihee' remains unaffected and still wields its pristine potent influence on the Newars. All the Newars follow this custom while the 'Deo-Bhajas' do not.

Although the 'Deo-Bhajas' form linguistically a section of the Newars, from the ritual point of view, they are Brahminic and do not follow the non-Brahminic customs of the Newars. There is also another section of the Newars, the 'Duniyas' who do not practice it.

To begin with the description of the 'Yihee-Munke', it is normally held on a mass scale. The usual place of the ceremony is either a temple of Ganesh or a Chaitya. Some times, it coincides with the inauguration of a new Hindu temple or a Chaitya. It involves enormous expenditure on the part of a girl's parents who take the initiative. Poor parents generally wait for the occasion of the 'Yihee' of some wealthy girl to take place, when they send their daughters to participate, seeking thereby to escape the expenses in connection with the construction of the booth and other incidental expenditures. The father of the girl initially arranging the ceremony does not object to other girls seeking initiation. The result is that the number of girls at times is as ^{great} high as three or four hundred and they may be drawn from the different castes. The ceremony is held in so much veneration that not infrequently, a man of substance may come forward to meet the entire expenses

connected with a 'Yihee' congregation. On such occasions, people from long distance come to partake of the sacredness by witnessing the ceremony and offering new clothes to the girls who are undergoing 'Yihee'.

When a girl is to be initiated through 'Yihee' an auspicious day is chosen in consultation with the Joshi. Invitations are then sent out to the relatives.

On the appointed day, a booth is erected. The floors of the house and the ground below the booth are washed with a solution of red soil and cow-dung with a view to purifying them. The girl about to undergo the 'Yihee' ceremony takes bath early in the morning. She fasts until the ceremony for the day is over. All the members of the house also undergo the ritual purification of 'Ni-si-ya-ye-gu'. The actual ceremony sets in early in the morning with the sacrifice of a duck or a goat to Ganesh. Many Buddha Margi castes, however, refrain from such sacrificial part of the ceremony. Newars of poor class substitute a duck's egg^{for it}. Then, 'Pitha-Puja' is performed. This consists in worshipping eight flags representing different 'Pithas' which means different goddesses. These flags are to be later immersed in the river. Then the 'Thakali' proceeds

to perform the 'Nandi-Mukh-Sradh^h^d'. This means propitiating the ancestors by offering the Pindas of ^bher-fruits, bamboo shoots and blades of grass. This is meant to avoid the displeasure of the dead ances⁺ors. The dead relatives who are included for receiving such oblations are of the three generations both on the paternal and the maternal sides. After the offering of 'Pindas' all the agnatic relatives who are present on the occasion pay their obeisance by showering flowers and rice over the Pindas.

The 'Nandi-Mukh-Sradh^h^d' is followed by the ritual of wearing the 'Sat-Brindika'. For this purpose the girl is brought to the place of initiation through the 'Lassa-Kussa' ritual. She stands before the sacred fire to perform the 'Sat-Brindika' ceremony. 'Sat-Brindika' means measuring the girl hundred ^{and} eight times with yellow threads from head to foot. It is, then bundled up and put on the lap of the girl. The 'Thakali-Naki' then performs the 'Pathi-Lui-gu' ritual. The girl is then showered with flowers and rice as a token of her being in a state of sacredness.

The 'Thai-bhu' ritual follows next. It is the important part of 'Yihee'. The 'Thai-bhu' containing

eighty four kinds of dishes is placed before the girl. The girl has to perform ritual eating of 'Pancha-grass'. This consists in eating first with each of the fingers of the right hand and then with all the five fingers together. But before such eating, a little of the food is set aside on a leaf as the share of the evil spirits and thrown at the 'Chhwasa'. With this, the ceremony ends for the day.

Next day the girl is required to undergo the 'Nasi-ya-ye-gu' ritual. The 'Mauni' (woman barbar) who pares the nail and colours the toes of the girl receives as her traditional payment a piece of raw flesh and a little quantity of mustard oil. She also receives payment in cash. The girl's father's sister collects the nails in a copper dish for which she is also customarily paid. ^{When} ~~After~~ the purificatory rite is over the girl is conducted back to her seat through the 'Lassa-Kussa' ritual. She is then presented with new clothes and ornaments along with the 'Sat-Brindika' garland which she puts around her neck.

Then follows the applying of vermillion to the girl's forehead. It is called 'Sincho-Phaye-gu'. Under

the Hindu system it may be mentioned that the application of the vermilion to the forehead of the bride by the bridegroom is of great significance in a marriage. The Newar 'Sincho-Phaye-gu' in 'Yihee' holds the same meaning. But strangely enough, 'Sincho-Phaye-gu' literally means the parting of the hair. This ceremony proceeds as follows: the priest first worships the 'Jwalah-Nhai-Ka(n)' and hands it over to the 'Thakali'. Similarly he worships the 'Shinha-Mhu' and hands it over to the 'Thakali-Naki'. Taking a little vermilion on her right thumb, the 'Thakali-Naki' applies it to the girl's head along the parting of her hair. The girl then circumambulates the booth three times through the 'Lassa-Kussa' ritual after which she is taken to another place for the ceremony of 'Phali-Bajee' which involves the eating of 'Taye', curd, milk and fruits. This being over, she is brought back to her seat for the next ceremony.

The next important part of the ceremony now starts. It is called 'Kanya dan'. 'Kanyadan' is analogous to the practice among the Hindus of making a gift of the maiden to the bridegroom. In 'Yihee', the girl is similarly offered to god Narayan. This raises the question as to who has the

right of so offering the girl. Now-a-days, in most cases, it is the eldest male member among the brother-families who enjoys this right. But among the more traditional Newars, this right is exercised by the 'Thakali' of the 'Dewali Gathi'. Among the Jyapoo Newars of Panga it is at least so.

In the 'Kanyadan' ceremony, the gift-maker holds the feet of the girl, while his wife pours water over them. The girl is then presented with new clothes and offered three times a handful of rice by the gift-maker. All the relatives then make a similar offering to the girl in their order. Apart from the relatives, outsiders also may present the girl with clothes or coins.

The next item in the function is the worship of the priest and presentation of clothes to him. Then the girl's father's sister is also worshipped and presented with new clothes. The function draws to a close, when the 'Jwala-Nhai-Ka(n)' and 'Shinha-Mha' are, respectively, taken by the 'Thakali' and his wife, 'Thakali-Naki'. The 'Thakali' displays the 'Jwala-Nhai-Ka(n)' to god Ganesh, and other deities, then to the girl and finally to other relatives present in the function. The religious part of the function is now over for the day and subsequently follows the ritual of 'Sagan'. Later, a feast is held for all the relatives.

While symbolising the true marriage of a girl, the 'Yihee' ceremony confers a new status on her. It is a transition from one type of status to another. The ceremony, however, is not observed by many of the lower castes such as Kasai, Chyame, Dhobi and Duniya.

The puberty ceremony connected with the Newar girl is called 'Barha'. For eleven days the girl is kept confined in a dark room hidden from the male members. On the 12th day she undergoes a purificatory ceremony to be accompanied by a ceremonial feast. This 'Barha' ceremony is observed in two different ways: viz., 'Barha-Taye-gu' and 'Barha-Chone-gu'. Under the first, a girl undergoes the 'Barha' before she has her first menstruation. In the second, the ceremony is held when the girl has her first menses. The difference between these two types of 'Barha' is that in the former case the girl is regarded as mature before the attainment of puberty, while in the other, physical puberty coincides with the ceremonial puberty. The latter type is gradually coming more and more into vogue.

'Barha-Taye-gu' is observed by a girl when the girl has already undergone the 'Yihee' and is between the ages of five to thirteen. It is generally held in groups and several

girls are huddled up together in a dark room. The 'Barha-Chone-gu', on the other hand, is a rite to be undergone, individually since it is based on the physical puberty. The ceremony proceeds as follows: In both the types of the ceremony, a cotton effigy representing 'Barha-Khya', the she-devil which is believed to possess the girl undergoing 'Barha' is made and hung by the wall of the room in which the girl is confined. The 'Thakali-Naki' continues to worship the 'Barha-Khya' for twelve days and daily it is offered a portion of the girl's food with a view to protecting her from its malevolent influence.

With regard to taboo on food, it is not so elaborate. The girl is denied only ^{the} salt and the rest she can eat. She is entertained by the neighbouring girls with songs. It is a happy moment for the family.

The 'Barha' of a girl renders the agnatic members of the family impure for eleven days. But the married sisters of the girl and her other cognates are not affected by the Barha pollution.

On the sixth day, the 'Fukee' members pay her a visit and feed her with 'Chhusya-Mussy'.* The married

* Fried seeds of several kinds including soyabeans, gram, mass^{ful} and beans.

sisters of the girl have also to bring such food articles on this occasion. The maternal uncle has the special obligation of sending the eldest married woman of his family to feed the girl with 'Chhussya-Mussya'. He also sends her 'Kon-cheekan'* with which she and other females rub their faces. The girl then applies oil on her head which means the cessation of the salt taboo.

The actual purificatory ritual takes place on the twelfth day, when the girl comes out of her confinement and becomes ceremonially clean. On this day, the girl and all the members of the 'Fukee' families undergo the 'Nhi-si-gae-gu' ritual of purification. Special care is taken with regard to the girl's bath which should be before the sunrise. After these preliminaries, all the members assemble at the girl's house. The girl's eyes are blind-folded with a cotton band and ^{she is} conducted either to the terrace of the house or to some convenient place which commands a clear view of the sun, where the ceremony of seeing the sun is performed.

The 'Thakali-Naki' again assumes the ceremonial leadership. She performs worship to Ganesh and the sun.

* Pastemade out of mixing oil and gram-flour to be used in place of the soap.

Subsequently the other deities like 'Kumari', objects representing the evil spirits and the 'Kul' deity all are worshipped. The girl offers flowers and rice to the sun while she remains blind-folded. The cotton band is then removed and the first object she looks at is the sun.

After the girl has seen the sun, the 'Thakali-Naki' again worships the sun as before, but this time it is also participated by the girl. As usual, the 'Jwala-Nhal-ka(n)' and 'Shinha-Mhu' are also worshipped. Then the girl's eyes are again blind-folded and the ritual of 'Sincho-phaye-gu' takes place. This is done in a specific manner. The 'Thakali-Naki' takes a little vermilion out of the 'Shinha-Mhu' and with her three fingers she draws three lines on the forehead of the girl from left to right; then without lifting the fingers, she draws back her fingers along these lines upto the middle of the forehead from where, she moves her fingers straight way up and right through the parting of the hair. Then she performs the 'Pathi-Lui-gu' ritual. She then takes a handful of the mixture of rice and paddy and offers to the girl. This is known as 'Barha(n)-Chhui-gu' which is repeated three times. She then offers 'Kon' (rice powder) and 'Chika(n)' (mustard oil)

to the girl separately in two different small earthen pots. Then she presents a set of new clothes and makes obeisance to the girl. This is the first occasion when a girl is given a saree and blouse in place of the 'Surwar', (pajamas being her dress until now). The presentation of the mixture of rice and paddy and a set of new clothes is repeated by other women relatives turn by turn according to the order of seniority counted by age and social status.

On the twelfth day also, the maternal uncle of the girl sends again a set of clothes, mixture of paddy and rice and 'Sagan'. The married daughters of the family also come to offer the girl similar materials.

The girl afterwards pays a visit to the temple of Ganesh. On her return, a 'Sagan' ritual follows: First the 'Sagan' is offered to the Kul-Deity then to the girl and subsequently to the other relatives, strictly in the order of seniority.

The 'Barha' ceremony is brought to a close with the holding of a communal feast in which the 'Fukee' members alone participate. This signifies the recognition of the physical maturity of the girl.

If the 'Barha' ceremony takes place after the marriage on the occurrence of the first menses and if the girl happens to be in her husband's house, she is asked to hide herself immediately. News is then conveyed to her parents to make arrangements to get her back. The Newars do not, as a matter of course, allow a bride to live in their house when she is required to be under 'Barha' resulting from her first menstrual discharge. The girl is removed to her parents' home in a palanquin at night. In such instances, however, the ritual of 'Sincho-Phyae-gu' is not done by the 'Thakali-Naki', but by her husband who is specially invited. He has to bring 'Chhusya-Mussy'a', some ornaments and a set of clothes with him.

If a girl under 'Barha' dies, her body is disposed of in a peculiar manner within the four walls of the house. She is buried under the ground floor of the house where she has died. For this purpose, the corpse is not removed out of the room by the usual ^{door-}way, but holes are bored through the floors of the different stories and the corpse is passed down to the ground through these holes. Such houses are believed to be haunted by the spirit of the girl and the belief is current among the Newars that those who live in such houses hardly survive.

Menstrual impurity other than the first one is not observed by the Newars, as strictly as by the Gorkhas. During every menses, a Gorkha woman lives practically an outcaste. On the fourth day after her bath, she is considered clean. But still she is not allowed to touch the water and attend to religious duties until after the fifth day. Among the Newars, a woman during her menses can even attend to the domestic duties. The only restriction imposed is that she should have her bath before attending to her normal duties. At the most, she is forbidden to come in physical contact with objects of religious worship. The Shresthas with whom this point was discussed testified to this fact. A conflicting statement was, however, given by the Udas and Manandhar castes, who returned that they observe impurity for four days. But it is hard to believe their statement in the light of reliable evidence from other sources that in the majority of cases the observance of menstrual impurity is confined only to the worship of family deity. A few Shivamargi Newars who have come in close contact with the Gorkhas do follow the latter's custom in this respect. But such cases are few and far between. 'Barha' is not at all observed by many of the lower castes chief among which, are Chyamkhala and Duniya.

The initiation ceremony of a boy into adulthood is called by the Newars ~~as~~ 'Kaita-Puja' which signifies the admission of the boy into the full-fledged membership of the community. After such initiation, if the boy dies, he is given the full obsequial rites as in the case of an adult. The term 'Vrata-Vandho' is sometimes substituted for 'Kaita-Puja', particularly by the Shresthas among many of whom, it is the occasion of their thread ceremony. Some times it is also known by the term 'Upanayana' among the Chhatharia Newars and Deo Bhaju Brahmins, who also wear 'Janeo' on the occasion of this ceremony. 'Kaita-Puja' implies the initiation into wearing the Loin-cloth meant for covering the ~~penis~~ *genetal region*.

The age at which 'Kaita-Puja' is celebrated is generally between five to fourteen years. There is, however, no upper age limit. A man may undergo his 'Kaita-Puja' any time before his marriage. It presupposes that the boy has already undergone the 'Bu-Sakha' ceremony. For economic reasons, the 'Bu-Sakha' and 'Kaita-Puja' ceremonies are held simultaneously. As in other ceremonies, the Newars generally prefer to hold this ceremony also on a mass scale.

Having chosen an auspicious date in consultation with the Joshi, the boy is made to observe fast. Among the Shresthas, a booth is constructed in the quadrangle of the house. In the centre of the booth raw bricks are placed for kindling the ceremonial fire.* The symbols of 'Ashta-Matrika', the 'Jwala-Nhaikan' and 'Shina Mhu' and 'Sukunda' are worshipped as usual. The use of a special kind of flower known as 'Dafo-Swa(n)' is a special item of this worship. Among other things, a piece of raw meat and a large vessel containing all the items of 'Saga(n)' are also important. The Brahmin priest who officiates in the function administers 'Sankalpa' to the 'Thakali' or the father of the boy, whoever assumes the ritual leadership. During the ceremony, the priest sits facing the east and in front of him is the sacred fire. The 'Thakali' takes his seat to the right of the priest and faces the north. To the left side of the priest is seated the boy undergoing initiation. After the 'Sankalpa', the boy is brought to his seat through the 'Lassa-Kussa' ritual in which the 'Thakali-Naki' and 'Naku-Naki' participate. First the boy worships the 'Mandal' by offering flowers, rice and coins. Then he makes the 'Gaudan' to the Brahmin priest in which the cow is symbolically represented by flowers, rice and a few coins.

* The Buddhamargi Newars hold the ceremony without it.

Afterwards, he is made to throw a little quantity of rice and flowers up into the air at the instance of the Brahmin. This signifies the worship of Laxmi and is known as 'Laxmi-Puja'. Then follows the worship of the 'Saga(n)' items. In all these worships the boy is assisted by the 'Thakali-Naki'. It is she who puts into his hands the materials required by him for such worships. While the worship is going on, the 'Naku-Naki' goes out to worship the Ganesh of the locality and returns later.

Then the 'Thakali' worships the boy. He offers flowers at the feet, hand and head of the boy and this is repeated three times. The boy is then offered 'Bhalincha' a kind of pot containing 'Kon'(oil cake mixed with oil), mustard oil, some quantity of paddy, a few blades of grass and one piece of raw meat. He touches his body with the piece of raw meat and throws it away. He then proceeds to have his ceremonial shaving of the hair by the barber.

The father's sister (Nini) of the boy has to play a role. She brings the barber's razor in a bronze-plate known as 'Thaki-bhu' which the priest worships. Then she

gives it back to the barbar. The boy is led through the 'Lassa-Kussa' ceremony by the 'Thakali-Naki' and 'Naku-Naki'.

The barbar shaves off the boy's head, and pairs his nails. The father's sister ('Nini') collects the hair and nails in a bronze vessel. Then the boy goes for his ceremonial bath after which he is brought to the 'Mandap' again through the 'Lassa-Kussa' ritual.

Now starts the main function of presenting the 'Kaita' (the loin cloth). The priest hands over the 'Kaita' to the 'Thakali' who in turn presents it to the boy and the latter holds it in his hand. Then the 'Thakali' teaches him how to wear it. The boy then wears the 'Kaita'.

After wearing the Kaita, the boy stands before the Thakali with his feet close together. The latter worships the 'Kaita' of the boy. The 'Thakali-Naki' also repeats the same. Then follows the presentation of a set of new clothes to the boy who touches the feet of the 'Thakali-Naki' as a mark of respect, after having received the presentation from her.

Then follows the ritual of 'Pathi-Lui-gu'.

After the 'Pathi-Lui-gu' ritual, the boy is given a deer's skin to wrap himself with a bow and^{an} arrow. With these he stands while all the kinsfolk of the boy, especially the 'Fukee' members have to shower flowers and rice over him as a token of respect and blessings. The 'Thakali' takes the 'Jwala-Nhaikan' and after showing it to the deities shows it to the boy also. Then he offers alms to the boy which includes a coconut, rice and a rupee. The boy says "Bhawati Bhikshan Dehee"* before he accepts the alms. The giving of the alms is repeated by each of the relatives present in the function in the usual order of their social seniority. The important relatives participating in such alms-giving include all the agnates of the boy's father and their wives, the boy's mother's sisters and their husbands, and the father's sisters and the boy's own sisters and brothers. The mother's brother and his wife refrain significantly from offering the alms.

After the alms giving ceremony, the boy makes a pretence of running away to the jungle, and his maternal uncle has to prevent him from running away. For this

* It is a Sanskrit tradition which is confined to the higher caste Newars only.

function the boy stands seven steps away from his maternal uncle. As the boy runs the maternal uncle has to catch him and bring him back. In some cases the boy is taken to the temple of Ganesh for worship from where he has to make the pretence of running away.

The maternal uncle brings back the boy to the 'Mandap' where the ritual of 'Dhau-Saga(N)*' is performed. Besides, a teeka-mark of curd is applied to his forehead. Such act is headed by the 'Thakali' ^{Naki} who is followed by the 'Noku-Naki' and so on until finally by the mother's brother's wife. The mother's brother's wife has to present new clothes to the boy. Then she applies 'Sinha' to the parents of the boy and also presents them each a set of new clothes. Thus the religious part of the 'Kaita-Puja' ends.

Towards the end, the usual ritual of 'Saga(n)' takes place. But the 'Saga(n)' is offered not by the 'Thakali-Naki' of the boy's family, but by his maternal uncle's wife. First she offers 'Saga(n)' three times to the 'Kul' deity of the family; then to the boy; and subsequently one by one to the 'Fukee' members of the boy's father.

* The usual items of Saga(n) are replaced by a curd. Hence such a name.

Later a grand feast takes place in which 'Bajee', buffalo's meat, liquor, 'tho(n)' and different kinds of boiled seeds are served. With the feast the 'Kaita-Puja' comes to an end. After this the boy is supposed to have entered his adulthood.

While 'Kaita-Puja' is the traditional initiation ceremony, it has engrafted upon itself such Hindu rituals as the wearing of the sacred thread which is called 'Upanayana'. The Chhatharia caste Newars undergo the thread ceremony in addition to 'Kaita-Puja'. The Buddhamaargi Vanras have a different ceremony in place of the 'Kaita-Puja'. Among them, the ceremony is known as 'Bare-Chhui-gu' (Chura-Karma) which indicates a sanskrit origin. It takes place before the boy has attained the age of thirteen. The ceremony symbolically represents the assumption of ascetic life and preserves the old memory when the Vanras used to be initiated into the ascetic life. Generally, the 'Bare-Chhui-gu' is also observed on a mass scale.

As usual, an auspicious day is chosen. On that day, the boys observe 'Ashtami Vrata'. Their diet consists only of fruits and sweets. The boys to be initiated into 'Bare-Chhui-gu' take their seat in order of their seniority

at the place of worship which is always the 'Bahal'. A booth is constructed in the centre of which the sacred fire is kindled. The boys to be initiated sit in front of the 'Guru-Mandal',^a geometrical design. In the 'Guru-Mandal' a long twisted thread is kept during the entire 'puja'. After the 'pūja', the priest gives a discourse to each of the boys on the miseries of the world. He tells that the world is transitory and full of sorrows. Salvation lies in its abandonment. The sermons being over, the boys get their heads shaved by the barber, removing even the last tufts of the hair. They dress themselves in yellow garments and go to the idol of the Buddha in the 'Bahal' with a view to seeking shelter under it. For four days they actually lead an ascetic life with begging bowls in their hands and going from door to door for alms. Afterwards the yellow garments are taken off and they resume the normal life. This initiation ^{marks} ~~makes~~ their admission as the full members of the 'Bahal'.

The next important stage in the life of a Newar boy or girl is the marriage. But we do not intend describing it here for the purpose of its treatment along with the family in Chapter V. We, therefore, pass on to the next

ceremony which is ^{not} next to be met with any other community in Nepal.

The completion of the age of seventy-seven years is marked by the old-age initiation ceremony known as 'Burha-Junko'. In fact this ceremony is subsequently repeated twice, each with its own significance.

The first 'Burha Junko' takes place at the age of seventy-seven years, seven months, seven days, seven 'ghadis' and seven 'palas' according to the Hindu calender. It is called 'Bhima Ratha Rohan'. On the completion of this ceremony a person is believed to enter upon the first stage of divinity and he gives up taking active interest in the family affairs. It is commonly believed that if such an initiated one pronounces a curse upon some one, it is sure to be efficacious. People are, therefore, looking upon him with the utmost awe. On the other hand, his blessings are much sought after whenever a new project is started.

The second 'Burha Junko' is observed on attaining the age of eighty-three years, four months, four days, four 'ghadis' and four 'palas'. This is known as 'Sahasra Chandra Darshanam', seeing the full-moon a thousand times.

On calculation a thousand full moon nights is supposed to have passed by the time a person attains this age. This ceremony is alternatively called 'Ashwa-Ratha Rohan', the significance of which is, however, not known to the present writer, except that the etymology of the term indicating 'the riding in a horse-drawn car'. The last ceremony of 'Burha-Junko' is called 'Swarga-Ratha-Rohan', going to heaven and is celebrated on the completion of ^{the age of} ninety-nine years, nine months, nine days, nine 'ghadis' and nine 'palas'. This is the final stage of divinity which a person enters upon. After this ceremony he is worshipped as a semi-devine being. But rarely do people survive to attain this status.

While an old man is initiated into the 'Burha-Junko' his wife is also initiated without the consideration of her age, since a woman's social age is always counted on the basis of her husband's age. But if a woman be a widow she has to qualify herself by completing the necessary period of life in order to undergo the 'Burha Junko'.

In all the three ceremonies of 'Burha Junko' the details of the worship are somewhat similar to those involved

in the 'Macha-Bu-Junko', subject to a few more details which are peculiar. This observance essentially involves participation by the priest and the performance of 'Hom'. On the day of initiation the old man undergoes a fast and the ritual of 'Nisi-yae-gu' is observed as usual by all the members of the 'Fukee' families. When the auspicious moment arrives, the old man is conducted to the place of worship, through the ritual of 'Lassa-Kussa'. He takes his seat to the right of the priest near the sacred fire to which 'Hom' is performed by the latter. The old man sits on a rectangular 'pidha' placed over a heap of the mixture of rice and paddy. By his side there are kept a broom stick, a straw-mat, an umbrella, and a pair of shoes. A significant accompaniment of this ceremony is the garland of 'Yo-meri' cakes, which the old man has to wear. After the completion of the 'Hom' all the relatives of the initiated one pay their obeisance one by one and shower fruits, flowers and vermilion over him. Such details are applicable to all the three kinds of Burha Junko. But the first and the last have some peculiar features in addition, which are as follows:

The first 'Burha-Junko' or 'Bhima Ratha Rohan' is marked by the initiatee being taken in a ^{'rath'} car through the different parts of the locality to be drawn by his relatives. The relatives who engage themselves in the drawing of the car

arrange themselves into separate rows of males and females. The old man's sons and daughters undertake the ritual of scattering a mixture of paddy and parched rice on the route of the procession.

The procession first arrives at the temple of Ganesh where, apart from the normal worship, a duck is sacrificed to the deity. Then it wends through the different parts of the locality to observe the ritual of taking 'the round of the settlement'. Finally it returns home. Such custom is, however, much falling into disuse and a modified form of it is presented by undergoing the symbolic drawing of the car in the court-yard of the house. In any case the initiatee must visit the temple of Ganesh in a procession accompanied by his relatives. After the completion of the car-drawing ceremony, a grand feast is held in which the initiatee's consanguineal relatives are distinguished from the rest.

In the last 'Burha Junko' a strange custom marks it out as a speciality. After this ceremony, the initiated man does not enter into the house by the usual door-way, but by the window of the top floor. For this purpose, he is

placed in a wooden shrine and drawn up from the top window. It is symbolic of going to heaven.

Although it is the desire of every son to initiate his father or mother into the 'Burha-Junko', economic reason acts as a hurdle to its fulfilment. It is, therefore, not uncommon to come across a number of Newars of qualified age but not having been initiated.

'Burha Junko' is, however, conspicuously a non-culture-trait of the lower caste Newars from whose hands drinking water is not accepted by the higher caste Newars. Comparatively, it is popular among the Vanra, the Chhatharia, the Shrestha, the Udas, the Jyapoo and the Manandhar castes.

Beliefs concerning death are akin to those of the other Hindus of the Valley. The theory of the Transmigration and the law of Karma form the pivot of the Newar life. The soul of a person after death is believed to go to the abode of Yama and a person is rewarded or punished by Yama according to the virtues practised or the sins committed by him on earth. While such higher philosophy permeates the life of the higher caste Newars, those of the lower culture such as the Duniyas and others are, however, very remotely

concerned with it. To them death is always the result of an evil act by some deity whose wrath could not be pacified.

Like the other Hindus, the Newars distinguish between death, natural and unnatural. Death resulting from the long drawn out sickness or from old age is regarded as natural. A person, it is believed, lives the destined period of life and after which he must quit this world to take up another role assigned to him by God. Unnatural death is believed to result either from the wrath of some malignant deity or spirit or ghost or from the act of some enemy through sorcery. Those dying of accident, epidemic, small-pox and witchcraft are regarded as having met with an unnatural death. A girl dying, while in 'Barha', is also believed to have an unnatural death. All un-natural deaths lead to the persons' souls turning into ghosts and spirits.

A person who dies a natural death is said to be shaved ^{from} of the ^{other-} underworld-life and his soul without being required to live in transition goes straight way to the court of Yama. But the path to the court of Yama is not an easy one. The soul has got to be helped and assisted by its surviving relatives in this respect by offering

timely oblation to it⁶⁷ and observing the various customs in its memory. On the other hand, the soul does not cease to retain its mundane interests in the day to day life of its surviving relatives. In other words, the soul functions as a link between its surviving relatives and the gods. In order to maintain the constant relationship with it, the soul of the dead has to be propitiated; otherwise its displeasure is incurred, which means that a general calamity would befall on the members of the family.

The Newars believe that the soul of the deceased is much in need of the material comforts just as a human being. Thus it needs food, clothes, house etc. But such beliefs are not peculiar to the Newars who share them in common with others. The Newars differ from the others only in degree in this respect.

There also exists among the Newars the belief that if the soul escapes through the eyes or the nose or through the skull, the person concerned is lucky. The escape of the soul through the skull is, however, most preferred. That is why among the Vannas and some of the Udas and Manandhar castes, a special ritual takes place to enable

the soul of the dying man to leave the body through the skull. It is called 'Utkranti' or 'Pho'. The term 'Pho' is current among those groups who have accepted the Tebetan Lama priest as their spiritual teachers. This is the case especially with the Manandhar caste.

It is not clear whether the 'Utkranti' or 'Pho' is performed before the death of a person or after it. A strict secrecy is maintained and even the household members are not allowed to be present when this rite is being performed. Some of the Newars have the fear that perhaps the skull is split open prior to the death of the dying person. When the writer was in Kathmandu he came across a case which had undergone the 'Pho' ceremony, and which does give some amount of suspicion. A woman in the 'Guachhe Mugal tole' in Kathmandu had died. It was reported that she had undergone the 'Pho' ceremony. She had died in the small hours of morning, but her corpse was carried to the crematorium only in the afternoon. When the corpse was brought out of the house the writer saw that her head was bandaged with an yellow cloth containing blood stains. It was unusual to see the deceased's head being covered with cloth. The

writer accompanied the corpse to the burning ghat where he could have a closer view of it. There he noticed that the yellow bandage was partially soaked in blood. On the way the chief mourner asked the bearers of the corpse whether drops of blood were oozing out on the way from his deceased mother's head. They replied in the affirmative. Later a person who was sent to examine the pillows on which the dying woman had rested her head reported that it was half soaked in blood.

The suspicion that the skull was possibly broken before death is based on the following points:

1. Normally the head of the corpse is not bandaged;
2. The ^{head} ~~skull~~ could bleed only when the person was killed.

There is another instance which goes to support the suspicion further. One Purn Hari had observed the corpse of the late Kul Bahadur, head of the Manandhar caste, who had also undergone the 'Pho' ceremony. According to him just after the 'Pho' ceremony he entered into the room where the dying man was resting. He noticed

that foam was oozing out from one of the nostrils of the deceased, which led him and other members of the family to suspect that Kul Bahadur had not yet died. The Lama advised them not to entertain such a suspicion and explained the presence of the foam as being the work of Mantras. The writer is, however, unable to say anything definite about it. But the suspicion entertained by the Newars themselves does suggest that there may be the practice of breaking the skull with a view to enabling the soul to escape through the head.

As the belief runs, the soul of the deceased can enter heaven only on some particular dates, i.e. on the first of the dark half of Bhadra and on the thirteenth of the dark half of Sravan. Because only on these two days the doors of Yama's abode is caused open. That is why on the first mentioned date, the festival of cow takes place and on the last mentioned date the festival of feeding the Vanra priests.

The Buddhist Newars replace the concept of heaven with the idea of 'Nirvana'. Their belief is grounded in the soul of the deceased becoming a mortal Buddha. But

such belief exists only in theory and that too among the higher castes. It does not, however, touch upon the practical life of the majority of the Newars.

When the person is dying, he is not removed out of the house in the majority of cases, a feature which contrasts with the Gorkhas*. Even with regard to the place inside the house, as to where he should breathe his last, there is some variation from caste to caste. The Udas and Vanra sections of the Newars take the dying man to the topmost floor. But some of them also prefer to allow the man to die at the spot where he had been lying sick. Despite such exceptions, the majority of the Newars bring the dying man to the ground floor and keep him first at a place called 'Argha-Jal'. He is removed thereafter to the base of the stair-case to which, for this particular purpose, is given the appellation of 'Brahma nal'.

During the last moments of the dying man, the traditional physician, 'Ghate Vaidya', whose duty it is

* Among the Gorkhas, the dying man is immediately removed to the bank of the river and placed half-way into the waters. This practice is also followed by some of the Shivamargi Shresthas.

to announce the death, is always in attendance. At the same time, the offering of water by the consanguineal relatives proceeds. A 'Kolla' filled with water, in which three silver coins are put. Then a continuous stream of water is kept pouring over the feet of the dying man. This is usually done either by the eldest son of the dying man, who has to become the 'Mitaimah', chief mourner or by his wife. The moment the person dies, the 'Ghate-Vaidya' announces to that effect. The remaining water in the 'Kolla' is taken out to the out-yard of the house and thrown at the 'Ksetrapal'. The silver coins in the 'Kolla' traditionally belongs to the 'Ghate-Vaidya' who, however, provides in return sandal-wood and camphor required in connection with the cremation.

The next step is to place five burning earthen lamps around the deceased. These lamps are fed in 'ghee' and placed at the head, one each on the right and the left side and at the two knees. Meanwhile, the news is conveyed to the 'Sie-Guthi' and 'Sana Guthi' members, who have to proceed with the cremation.

The 'Sie-Guthi' members having arrived, arrangements are made by them to procure nine bundles of 'chwalli' wheat

straws, a basket of cow-dung cakes, a fire-pot called 'Bhaj(a)', a little paddy husk, a pair of iron chains, and some water in a vessel known as 'Karua'. They 'Sie-Guthi' members also bring bamboos for making the bier and the special textile material known as 'Deva(n)' which is kept in their office and which is used to cover the corpse whenever some one dies.

The bier is called 'Kota' and made into a rectangular shape with the handles at the four corners, which so much contrasts with the single bamboo pole used by the Gorkhas*.

Before the corpse is tied to the 'Kota', the 'Jhalaye-Kulaye' ritual takes place. The face of the corpse is washed by one of the 'Fukee' members. 'Sinha',^{or} of vermilion is applied to his forehead. Then his horoscope is tied to his neck. Thereafter the corpse is wrapped in a loin-cloth tightly stitched up. Such stitching is called 'Dukha-Pikha' and is done only by some 'Fukee' member by rotation. But the 'Dukha-Pikha' ritual has to be preceded by the ritual of 'Phanga-Taye-gu' to be performed by the married daughters of the deceased's

* When some one dies among the Gorkhas, the dead body is tied to a single pole and carried to the burning ghat. This is also the practice among the Magars and the Gurungs.

household. In it, each of the married daughters brings a little cotton. As soon as they arrive they raise a loud cry, come near the dead body and place the cotton over it. Then they immediately depart, except the one who in the case of the lower caste Newars, has to perform the scattering of the paddy grains on the route of the funeral procession*. Unless the married daughters depart, further work can not start. The married daughters having left the house the 'Dukha-Pikha' takes place and then the dead body is wrapped by a 'ghoom'@. Then the corpse is removed to the bier over which the 'Deva(n)' is put. The removal of the corpse to the bier and the subsequent work of attending to the burning of the dead are not done by all the 'Sie-Guthi' members, but by a section of them who are called in such ritual capacity as 'Gonta'. The 'Gontas' remove the bier to the out-yard of the house, where 'pindas' are offered to the corpse, and in the meanwhile the 'Sana-Guthi' members are awaited for the purpose of the procession. Now the unique feature connected with the death-rate of the Newar, which distinguishes them from the other Hindus is the offering of 'pindas' to the soul of the deceased before the cremation. After this being over, and the

* This ritual is done by a 'Jyapoo' woman in the case of the high caste Newars.

@ An umbrella made of Sal-leaves.

relatives and the 'Sana-Guthi' members having arrived, preparations are made for the funeral procession. It is arranged in a definite manner. At the head of the procession are the 'Kasai' and the 'Jyapoos' musicians. The latter blow a wind-instrument known as 'Kaha(n)' or 'Indra-Baja', which is religiously important and which is played on the occasion of death or some important occasion. Its note gives a tragic look to the procession. The musicians are followed by those members of the 'Sie-Guthi' who carry the nine bundles of 'chhwali', a bundle of 'Nigali' and the worshipping material. Then the place is taken by another 'Sie-Guthi' member who carries an earthen pot with smouldering cow-dung cakes. Then follows the eldest married daughter with a bag of the mixture of paddy and rice grains, who is called 'Po-holae'. Then come the four members of the 'Sie-Guthi', with the bier on their shoulders. These people, in the case of the higher castes such as the Vanra, the Shrestha and the Udas, have to wear the Indian 'dhoti' and not the usual Nepali tight trousers, though among some of the Shresthas of the Kathmandu town it is not insisted upon. Behind the bier is the eldest son, the 'Mitaimha', who is followed next by the other 'Fukee' male members in order of their status.

* Such accompaniment of music in the funeral procession is falling into disuse among the higher castes, but the 'Jyapoos' still adhere to it.

Finally come the 'Sana-Guthi' members and other relatives of the deceased. All these mourners have to cover themselves with white 'chadars' to give a mourning look, their heads and feet being bare.

Just before the starting of the funeral procession an old-woman has to perform the 'chwasaa-Wane-gu' ritual. She takes the mat and pillows of the deceased and proceeds towards the 'chwasaa', where she leaves them and returns.

After the return of the woman from the 'chwasaa' the funeral procession moves. The musicians strike a sorrowful note, the 'Po-holae' moves forward weeping and scattering the paddy grains, and the rest of the members of the procession follow. The procession wends through the fixed route for such purpose and halts at the first cross road located on the boundry line of the settlement, known as 'Murda-Do-pat'. Here the three sun dried bricks are placed. Such placing of the sun-dried bricks is rooted in the belief that the soul of the dead requires them for building a house in the other world.

After arriving at the cremation ground, the 'Sie-Guthi' members proceed to make the pyre at a place known as

'Deep' or 'Depo'. Meanwhile the corpse is placed near the bank of the river. The 'Deva(n)' is removed and the offering of water to the corpse by the 'Fukee' male members commences. It begins with the youngest members and ends with the 'Thakali' and the 'Mitaiwaha'. This rite is called 'La-To(n)-Ke-gu'. Each of them goes to the river and brings a handful of water and puts into the mouth of the dead body.

After the 'La-Ton-Ke-gu', another ceremony takes place, which, however, is confined to the upper caste Budha-margi Newars. At this juncture, before the fire is set to the corpse, a 'Sradha' is performed and 'Pindas' are offered to the corpse. It may be noted that contrary to the Hindu practice, the pindas are made of barley flour and as such it is a feature peculiar to the Newars.

Just before the fire is set to the pyre, a married daughter of the family or a Jyapoo woman in the case of high caste Newars, walks round the funeral pyre three times, scattering paddy grains. Then a 'Fukee' member hands over the burning 'Nigali' to the 'Mitaiwaha' who also walks three times around the corpse before he applies the fire to the

corpse just below its head.

After setting fire to the pyre, all the mourners except the 'Sie-Guthi' members proceed towards the river for bath. The ^{Sana-}'Sie-Guthi' people attend to the burning of the corpse, till it is reduced to ashes. The rest of the mourners after bath, return to the house of the deceased to undergo the ritual of 'Bali-Piye-gu'. For this all the mourners stand in a row in front of the house of the deceased. The eldest lady among the 'Fukee' families stands at the entrance holding a dish containing ginger, mustard seeds, salt and 'Bajee' in one hand and a long iron key in another. There is also an earthen fire-pot containing mustard seeds. Each of the mourners is given a little of the materials from the dish and every one pretends to eat such materials. The chief lady takes a little quantity of 'Bajee' powder and throws away in the name of each of the mourners after touching him with it from his head to foot. After fumigating his face in the smoke of mustard seeds, each of them takes the iron key in his hand turn by turn, and goes into the house, while the key is passed on to the next person in the row. This is meant to drive away the evil spirit that may have haunted

the mourners. Among the Jyapoos of Panga, this ritual slightly differs in some detail. The key is replaced by an 'incha' (Sickle). Each person takes the 'incha' on which a piece of 'Saki' (bulb of *Arum colocasia*) is placed. He drops down the piece of 'saki' on the ground and hands over the sickle to the next person. Only then does he enter the house.

Inside the house the 'Sisa-Palu' rite takes place. For this purpose each of the 'Fukee' members will have brought a 'Kule~~-kula~~' of 'Bajee', pieces of ginger, and some salt from their respective homes. First of all, the 'Po-holae' who had performed the ritual of paday scattering is given to eat a little of these things. All the 'Fukees' sit together and then eat the flattened rice, jaggery, clarified butter, ginger and salt. The chief mourner, however, abstains from eating such things. It is interesting to note here in contrast to the non-Newar Hindus that the eating of salt is a necessary ritual for them. It is due to this that the Gorkhas jest at the Newars saying, "the Newars taboo the eating of salt at the time of a birth, but eat it on the death of some body". After the 'Sisa-Palu' all the relatives return to their respective homes.

The pollution is applicable to all the 'Fukee' members for a period of ten days or twelve days. Affines are, however, excluded from the affliction with such pollution. The married daughters are also given a separate treatment in this regard. They become unclean only for four days as against the unmarried ones who are treated on par with the other 'Fukee' members. Among the Vanras a different tradition prevails. In their case pollution is removed on the completion of the seven days and all the members of the deceased's 'Fukee' circle can resume their normal life thereafter.

In the house where a death has occurred, cooking may not take place during the period of pollution. Each of the 'Fukee' families has to provide turn by turn to the members of the deceased's household boiled rice, pulse and pickles. But now a days such traditional practice is breaking down and cooking may be resumed after four days when the married daughters who having become clean can attend to cooking. The Udas is said to follow the latter practice.

There is also restriction on certain kinds of food. During the period of seven days following death,

mass-pulse, soyabeans, areca-nut, curd and milk are prohibited from eating. But meat and salt can be eaten.

On the day of cremation, 'Fukee' members do not take their meal, until the news of the corpse having been burnt is formally conveyed to them. A special messenger is commissioned for this purpose by the 'Sie-Guthi' members who attend to the cremation. This custom is called 'Muta'. Once the news is conveyed to them, the members of the 'Fukee' families take their meals even including salt and meat.

Next morning all persons who had accompanied the funeral procession return to the burning ghat. On reaching the ghat, they make an effigy of the dead person out of his ashes. Two small 'Ritha' seeds (*Sapindus Mukorossi*) are used to represent the eyes of the effigy and a corie-shell to represent its mouth. They take five heaps of 'Bajee' and boiled rice which are kept at five different places around the effigy - two at the legs, two at the hands and one at the head. Three earthen pots, each containing liquor, milk and 'tho(n)' respectively are placed on these heaps. The heaps containing 'Bajee' and boiled rice are later collected along with the earthen pots and kept at

the corner covered with a basket. The ashes and the last remains of the bones are collected for their immersion in the river. This act is performed by one of the six 'Sana-Guthi' members on whom the turn has fallen for the disposal of such remains. The last remains are disposed of at the different holy places in the Valley. Two of the 'Sana-Guthi' members are sent to Gokarna with the scalp, two to Sankhamool, with one of the shoulder joints, one to Tekdwan with the other shoulder joint and the sixth person, first to Lakha Tirtha and then to Bhacna-Khusi with the knee-caps. The places of such disposal are known as the various 'Tirthas' of the Valley and are sacred both to the Hindus and the Buddhists.

The effigy making rite, though current among the high caste Newars such as the Vanras, the Shresthas, the Udas and the Jyapoos is not practised by many of the lower castes. In the latter's case, the ashes are collected and immersed in the river by the 'Sana-Guthi' members on the same day. This is done at any rate in case of the Manandhar caste.

If the family members of the deceased are well-to-do, the remains of the deceased are taken to the various

places of Hindu pilgrimage, such as Banaras, Prayag, Haridwar and Gaya, where they are relegated to the flowing waters of the holy-rivers. This is true even in the case of Buddhamargi Newars.

There is another tradition simultaneously existing among some of the Buddhamargi Newars, with regard to the disposal of the last remains. The last remains are brought home in an urn kept in the court-yard of the house and worshipped daily till the '^h~~Sradha~~^d' day. After the '^h~~Sradha~~^d' ceremony, a portion of each of the bones is taken each month to the Tirthas as stated earlier. The bones are placed on the ground over which a 'chaitya' of sand is built and then '^h~~Sradha~~^d' is performed. Thus within the year of death, there are twelve monthly '^h~~Sradhas~~^d' to be performed at the twelve different confluences of the rivers in the Valley of Kathmandu. These places are Guheshwari, Sankhamool, Rajtirtha, Tek-Dwan, Swa-Bhagwati, Lakha Tirtha, Kara-Khushi, Tekhu-Dwan, Dangana, Bhajangal, Nakhu and Gokarna. Among some of the Vanras, it is reported that there exist the practice of throwing the ashes of the deceased into the air from the top of the hills, such as Swayambhu. This is

perhaps the survival of the earlier practice of exposing the dead on the top of the hill among some of them.

Condolences are offered by the relatives of the bereaved family early in the morning on the day following the cremation. This is known as 'Bicha-Fayegu'. It is observed separately by the males and females. On the next day of death all the male relatives of the bereaved family including the members of 'Sana-Guthi' and also friends come to offer their condolences and go away. Again on the fourth or sixth day, the women relatives call at the house of the deceased after the sun set for the observance of 'Locha'. While coming they bring with them a basket of 'Bajee', sweatmeat, curd and liquor. As soon as they approach the locality or the village of the deceased, they raise a loud cry. It is a pathetic scene to witness. From all sides women are seen wending their way towards the house of the deceased, weeping loudly and addressing the dead person by the term of his/her relationship with them, as for instance 'ya puta'! (Oh, son), 'ya Bhincha'! (Oh nephew), 'ya Neeni'! (Oh sister) etc. The village or locality becomes agog with the cry of such incoming women for 'Locha'. The weeping is, however, more ceremonial than the expression

of real grief. It is not uncommon to see such women laughing and cutting jokes on the way. But as soon as they approach their destination, they resume weeping. Tradition has trained them so much that they can weep as easily as they can stop it.

On reaching the house of the bereaved family, the women visiting for 'Locha' wait outside till a woman comes out with a bucket of water. One by one they wash their hands and faces before they go inside. Of the food material brought by these women, a share is given to the 'Kusle' and the rest is eaten by themselves. It is, however, noted that among many of the castes such as the Vanras, Shresthas and Udas the visiting women do not eat the food material themselves. They hand it over to the bereaved family and depart after the ceremonial condolence. Next day such food material is consumed by the 'Fukee' members in a feast called 'Locha-Bhwe'.

The next rite to follow is on the seventh day, known as 'Nhaye-muma'. It is observed by all the Newar castes. Until this rite is performed, the spirit of the deceased, it is believed, continues to visit its house.

Every morning, therefore, a little quantity of 'Bajee' and curd is kept in an earthen vessel at the place where the person had breathed his last. Next day such food material is given away to a person of 'Kusle' caste.

On the 'Nhayе-Numa' day, a male and a female from each of the 'Fukee' families participate in the rite. The married daughters, since they are not affected by the death pollution, cook the food. In the morning of this day, seven shares, each containing boiled rice, bean-pulse, meat, soya-bean, oil, milk and an earthen pot are offered to the 'Kusle' in the name of the deceased. These offerings are made by the eldest married daughter of the deceased's house at the out-yard of the house, where the dead body was laid on the bier. As soon as the 'Kusle' prepares to collect the food, the married daughter, as required by custom, raises a loud cry. In the same evening there is another rite known as 'Pakha-Ja'. All the relatives who take part in the 'Nhayе-Numa' feast ~~themselves and then~~ offer a little food to the spirit of the deceased before they depart for their homes. Each of them puts a handful of boiled rice and 'Bajee' in the basket hanging down from the eave at the doorway. While they put the food into the basket they address the deceased,

saying: 'Ja-Ka-wa'. This means 'Oh soul of the dead, come and take rice!' They, ^{at} are the same time, place into the basket a lighted earthen lamp. The youngest is the first to address the dead person and offer such food, the eldest being the last.

The chief mourner goes to the cremation ground afterwards with a replica of wooden ladder, an eyeless needle and a cooking furnace. He leaves these articles there and comes back. This is known as 'Painti-La-gu'. Until it is performed, the relatives who had come for the 'Nhaye-Numa' feast do not depart from the house and the 'Pakha-Ja' rite takes place only after this. The significance of the 'Painti-La-gu' lies in the anxiety of the Newars to stop the spirit of the deceased from visiting the house. According to the current belief until the 'Painti-La-gu' is not done, the spirit of the deceased never realises that it is dead, and therefore, it continues to visit its former abode. That is why for seven days preceding the 'Painti-La-gu' some food has to be kept at the spot where the person was in his sick-bed. The 'Painti-La-gu', however, impresses upon the spirit that it is really dead and it no longer should visit the house.

Only then does he come to accept the food offered to him in the 'Pakha-Ja' rite. Such food is thrown in the following morning at the 'Chhwasa'.

The Newar's belief in the evil potentiality of the spirit is reflected in their attempt to prevent it from entering the house. For such purpose, as for example, among the Jyapoo of Panga, a Gubhaju priest is employed to drive an iron nail into the threshold of the house.

The completion of the 'Nhaye-Numa' removes the pollution attached to clothes, but the bodily pollution still continues till another rite, 'Ghasu' is performed on the tenth day, which removes all kinds of uncleanness.

The 'Ghasu' ceremony on the tenth day is preceded by the purificatory bath in the morning. It is known as 'Ati-Daye-Ke-gu'. In this connection the members of the bereaved family, and 'Fukee' members go to the river to bathe. It is marked by the ceremonial weeping by the women while on their ^{way} to the bathing ghat.

At the bank of the river, the male members shave their heads and get their nails paired. The chief mourner, if he is the son of the deceased, has, in addition, to shave his eye-brows and moustache. As part of the purificatory rite, the priest holds some wheat-flour, 'amba' (emblic myrobalan) and oil-cake in an earthen pot. Each of the mourning relatives is required to have their bath with one of these items each time. Then a solution of cow's dung and urine is sprinkled over them by the priest with a special kind of grass known as 'Situ-Ghain'. This ritual act of sprinkling the solution of cow-dung and cow's urine is known as 'Panch-gabhya', which looms large everywhere in the removal of the ceremonial uncleanness among the Newars.

After the purificatory bath in the river, all the mourners, return home headed by the chief mourner. On the way, the chief mourner goes on sprinkling 'Panch-Gabhya' solution on the road with a view to purifying the ground on which the other relatives tread on. The heads of families and their wives proceed straight way to the house of the mourner, while the rest return to their respective homes. A ceremonial feast takes place in the house of the bereaved family, in which the 'Fukee' heads participate.

In this feast the items which have to be necessarily eaten include 'Bajee', jaggery and ginger. Meat is, however, not served on this particular occasion.

Then follows afterwards the 'Ghasu' rite. There are different traditions being followed in the Valley as to the date of performing this rite. Among the Gubhaju, the Ghasu ceremony takes place on the seventh day itself. Among some Newars it takes place on the twelfth day. In case of child's death, it is observed on the fourth day. The term 'Ghasu' implies complete purification involving performance of 'Hom'. Among the Jyapoos of Panga, it is more popularly known as 'Sudhiya^h*'. Without the performance of Ghasu rite 'Sradha^h' cannot take place.

The 'Ghasu' rite involves the participation of a Brahmin or a Gubhaju priest. A sacred fire place known as 'Yagna Kund' is made with five unburnt bricks ~~is~~ made on the spot where the person had breathed his last. The priest takes his seat in front of the 'Hawan Kund' facing his back towards ^{the} east. Between him and the 'Hawan-Kund', there are three deities - ^{the} Sun, ^{the} Moon and ^{the} 'Bau' (the

* 'Sudhiya^h' is a corrupt form of the Nepali word 'Shudha'.

representation of ghost) in one row. Just a little further, to the right of the priest, there are three other deities, namely, 'Lokeshwar'* , Kumari and Bhairava in a row from west to east. Lokeshwar is represented in the usual way by a mixture of paddy and rice with a betel nut on it, Kumari by a long naked jug known as 'Anti', filled with liquor; and Bhairava, by another type of pot known as 'Khya-ye-Kuri' containing the traditional Newari rice-beer, 'Tho(n)'. Facing the priest, there are nine leaves placed around the 'Hawan Kund' in a semi-circle, each containing a special type of paddy called 'Swan-Wa', Gahat pulse' (a variety of Linn), black soya-bean, red mass pulse, rice grains, mustard seeds, black til seeds, barley and pea-seeds. All these together are called 'Bee-Bha'. A third series of deities is represented by 'Jogini', Ganesh and 'Agni', the fire-god. These deities are symbolised by a heap of paddy, a 'Sukunda' and a dish containing a burning wick in it respectively. The firewoods used for the 'Hom' or 'Hawan' is known as 'Sonsi' and 'Shilan' in Newari language.

To begin with the description of the 'Ghasu' rite, the 'Thakali' of the 'Dewali Guthi' worships in

* This deity is required only in the case of Budha Margi Newar.

order the Sun, the Lokeshwar and the Guru-Bhajra-Satwa. In case of a Shivamargi Newars, Lokeshwar and Guru Bajra Satwa are replaced by some Hindu deities. After such worship, the leaf representing the sun is taken to a place where the rays of the Sun can fall on it. Then follows the 'Puja-Sankalpa'. A copper pot containing the 'puja' items is touched by all the relatives while the priest makes invocation by chanting some formula. After this, the Pancha-Gabhya ritual follows:

Then the 'Thakali' worships collectively all the gods in the Valley. The next item of ritual is the kindling of the sacred-fire and the performance of 'Hawan' by the priest. During the 'Hom', all the relatives take their seats in order of their social seniority, the 'Thakali' occupying the first seat and the youngest member the last. The priest gives a long thread to be held together by them. When the 'Hom' is completed, a little clarified butter is melted in a plate ⁱⁿ by the ^{fire of the} 'Hawan Kund' and all the relatives who are present at the moment have to see their images in such melted ghee. Then the daughter or the wife of the priest is called in, if the deceased be of the female sex.

She is worshipped by the 'Thakali Naki', her hair is combed and vermillion is applied to her forehead. Then the 'Thakali-Naki' presents her with a set of articles which include clothes, bangles, a pair of shoes and a bed. If the deceased be a male, the priest himself or his son is presented with all kinds of articles that would have been required by the deceased in his lifetime.

The next item in the function is the feast to be held on the spot. But before it begins a share of the feast items along with some clothes is offered to a man of 'Kusle' caste. The 'Thakali Naki' offers him these in a dish and on this particular occasion he is called 'Twa-Jna'. As soon as the 'Thakali-Naki' proceeds with the dish towards the 'Kusle', the ceremonial weeping is resumed, but it is stopped on her return. The food given to the 'Kusle' is interpreted as the share of the soul of the deceased. In this connection, it may be pointed out that according to Hodgson¹ the Newars in the former days used to mix a piece of brain of the deceased in a sweat-meat to be eaten by a Bhat Brahmin on the eleventh day. It was hard for the present writer to come across such a practice among the

1. Quoted by K.P.Chattopadhyaya: J.A.S.B., Vol. ^{XIX} ~~LXXIV~~, 1923, p. 530.

Newars. Now-a-days it is not the Bhat Brahmin but the 'Kusle' who accepts the death gift on the eleventh day. Not even a single Newar had any knowledge about what Hodgson had stated. But a similar practice exists among the present Gorkha royal family of Nepal. May be, that it was the practice among the royal Mallas only, which has now been passed on to the present royal family. The feast which is to follow is arranged in the traditional manner. Every detail has to be properly worked out with regard to the eating arrangement, the procedure of eating and the causes to be included. The feast items include as usual, 'Bajee', buffalo's meat, ginger, reddishes and different kinds of boiled vegetable-seeds. Among these pea seeds, liquor and 'Tho(n)' are essential. The priest gives a start followed by the 'Thakali', and then all others begin to eat.

The participants in the feast do not leave their respective seats till the ritual of washing the hands is completed. One of the consanguines who is appointed for this purpose specifically, and who does not participate in the feast comes with a jug of water and a big copper vessel known as 'Beta'. He is offered 'Samai' to eat.

Having eaten the 'Samai', the person starts performing the ritual of washing the hands of those who participate in the feast. While doing this he first attends to the priest, then to the 'Thakali', the Thakali-Naki, the chief Mourner and so on. The last person whose hands he washes is the youngest member among them. Then he starts with the ritual of collecting the leaf-dishes in which the members had eaten. This time, he starts from the opposite end. The priest then worships the copper vessel containing the leaf-dishes after which they are thrown away at the 'Chhwasa'. When the person returns from the 'Chhwasa', he does not enter the house straightway, but stands outside the entrance and undergoes purification. For such purpose, the 'Thakali-Naki' pours water to enable him to wash his hands. Then she gives him two pieces of raw flesh which ^{the latter,} after having pretended to eat it, ~~he~~ throws away. Only then does he enter the house. On his return, the participants in the feast rise up and the ceremony is over for the day.

The next important ceremony concerning death is the 'S^hrad^dha'. The actual date for its observance varies from caste to caste. Among the Shiva-Margi high caste

Newars, it takes place generally on the thirteenth day. The Buddhist Vanra priests observe it on the seventh day itself. For performing the 'Sradha', the priest brings sand from the river, out of which he makes a square mound 'Mandap' on the ground where the 'Sradha' is to be performed. The chief mourner takes his seat in front of the mound facing the south. Between him and the square mound, there is the 'Mandap'. The priest sits on the other side of the sand platform, facing the chief mourner. On the square mound of sand are represented the following deities so far as the Buddhamargi Newars are concerned:

Gauri Mata, Bairochan, lamp Dharma, Budha, Sangha,
Sukhawati, Lokeshwar and Mandal.

Besides, there are seven copper vessels known as 'Argha'. Each of these contains water, cows-milk, buffalo's milk, curd, ghee, honey, rice-beer and liquor respectively. The symbols of Bhairava, Jogini and Guheshwari are also included in the 'Sradha' ceremony. On the sand platform, there is also a place reserved for a 'Chaitya' made of barley flour, which is known as 'Goja'.

The 'Puja' begins duly instructed by the priest, after which a Chaitya of barley flour is placed on the Mandap and worshipped.

The offering of the Pindas then follows. The Pindas are made of barley flour and offered to the deads upto five generations. In a corner, one pinda is reserved for a person who has died childless. The person is not named. The pindas are then worshipped by all the 'Fukee' members present. This rite is called 'kee-ga-teene-gu'. Afterwards, a betel-leaf, containing lime, but no 'khair' (cutch) is offered to the pindas. The chief mourner then addresses the soul of the dead with folded hands saying, "Thau(n) yar Dine Byaeya* Nama. Pinda Udharayaye Tena Sochita Ka Vijyama, Chandra Surya sakshi; Dharti-mata, Guru, Budha, Dharma, Sangha, Go-Mata Sakshi; Chaitya Sakshi." It means: I am offering oblation to my dead father on this day; all of you please come to accept my offerings; witnesses are the moon, ^{the} sun, ^{the} earth, ^{Guru}, Budha, Dharma, Sangha, mother cow, and the Chaitya". All of the consanguineal relatives then bow down before the Pindas to ^{show} their ~~mark~~ of respect and offer coins. The priest applies 'Sinha' to each of the participating male members, the women helping themselves. The priest then receives coins from each of them. The pindas are then taken to the river and immersed into its waters. After the completion of the pinda offering the ceremonial feast

* If it is the father who is dead the word 'Byaya' is used and if mother, 'Maya' and if any other relative, the appropriate term of the relationship is used.

follows in the same manner as in the case of 'Ghasu' ceremony.

The *Sradha* is repeated on the completion of forty-fifth day, six months, one year and two years. These are respectively known as 'Latya', 'Khula', 'Dakila' and 'Nidan-Tithi'. Apart from these there are monthly '*Sradhas*' for a year following the death. These are known as 'La-pyan-Thaye-gu'. These monthly '*Sradhas*' are performed at the various Tirthas and they have already been described elsewhere. After the thirteenth day the chief mourner will observe 'Barkhi' for a year. During this period, he wears a white cap, a pair of shoes made of white cloth and white garments without lining in them.

When a 'Thakali' dies, a special treatment is given to the disposal of the dead body. The corpse is carried in^d procession in a sitting posture. The procession is accompanied by different types of music befitting to the honour of a chief. When the procession is on the move, coins are scattered and vermillion is sprinkled over the bier throughout the way. All the members of the 'Devali Guthi' accompany the funeral procession. A

person who has been initiated through the 'Barha Junko' is given a similar treatment on his death.

Though cremation is the only accepted mode of disposing the dead, it is not without exception. The 'Kusle' caste which claims descent from the former Natha ascetics does not have the practice of cremating the dead. They bury their dead and deposit some salt in the grave. Burial is also resorted to in cases of abnormal death. Thus a person dying of small-pox or of epidemics is not burnt but buried; infants or children not older than six months are given burial. A girl dying during her period of 'Barha' is buried inside the house itself.

It is hard to say whether the Newars originally practised the custom of burying their dead though the surrounding tribes - the Rai, the Limbu², the Gurung³ and the Tharu⁴ are known to have practised the earth burial.

2. Northey, W.B. & Morris, Capt.C.J. - Op. cit. pp.224-246.

3. Ibid. p. 199.

4. Mazumdar, D. N. - The Fortunes of Primitive Tribes, 1944, p. 106.

A Jyapoo Newar from Panga, however, related the tradition when they did not cremate their dead. As the story runs, in the former days when a person died in ^{the} Panga village, his corpse was simply left on the ground at Bhajangal, the present site for cremation. During the night, a 'Daitya' used to come there with two 'Chhwars' - one black and the other white. With the waving of the white chanwar, the 'daitya' used to revive the dead person and make him work for him. Then he used to wave the black 'chanwar' and make him again dead. Finally, he used to eat up the corpse.

Once it so happened that a prince from Gorkha visited the Valley and came to the village of Panga. A girl of sixteen had died, whose corpse was lying uncremated at the Bhajangal. The prince rebuked the inhabitants of Panga for not having the custom of cremation among them. Then the prince was, however, told about the 'Daitya' who ^{was} believed to be enraged were the corpse cremated. The prince thereupon offered to kill the 'Daitya' and waited near the corpse for the latter to come at night. When the 'Daitya' came, he was challenged by the prince for a fight. In the fight, the 'daitya' was killed. The prince

returned to his country. Since then, the people of Panga, it is said, started cremating their deads.

The above mentioned story only suggests that non-cremation was in existence among the inhabitants of Panga. It, however, does not show that the burial was a practice in vogue in the former days.

Although nothing positive can be said about the earlier practice of burial, there is some remote suggestion as shown by the burial of the bones. Referring to the numerous 'chaityas' of Kathmandu, Dr.Oaldfield⁵ observes: "Some of these are dedicatory, but the great majority of them are of a funeral character, having been erected to the memory of the deceased". Such funerary monuments are not erected now-a-days, though fragments of the bones are interred in a 'chaitya' of sand and 'S^hradd^dha' is performed to them as already stated.

5. Dr.Oaldfield, H.A. - Sketches from Nepal,
Vol. II - pp. 239-271 and 274.



61. The Rice-feeding ceremony (Macha-Junko). 62. The sacred objects associated with the Macha-Junko. 63. The ceremony of Bu-Sakha (Hair-cutting ceremony). (The mother's brother is cutting the hair and the father's sister collecting it in a dish). 64. The Kaita-Puja (The Thakali-Naki offering alms before the initiate preparing to go to the forest).



65. The Yihee ceremony (Mock Marriage) (The girl is being measured with the cotton thread 108 times to provide her with the 'Sapta-Vrindika' garland). 66. The Yihee ceremony (The marriage ceremony in process. Before each girl an emblem of golden brass representing God Narain, the husband is seen with the bel fruit as witness to the marriage). 67. The Yihee ceremony: The Kanya-dan ceremony.



remony (The girl is being conducted to the terrace
er to see the sun as the first object after the
nt). 69. The Thakali-Naki performing the ritual
70. The Thakali-Naki presenting the Saga(n) to
arha.



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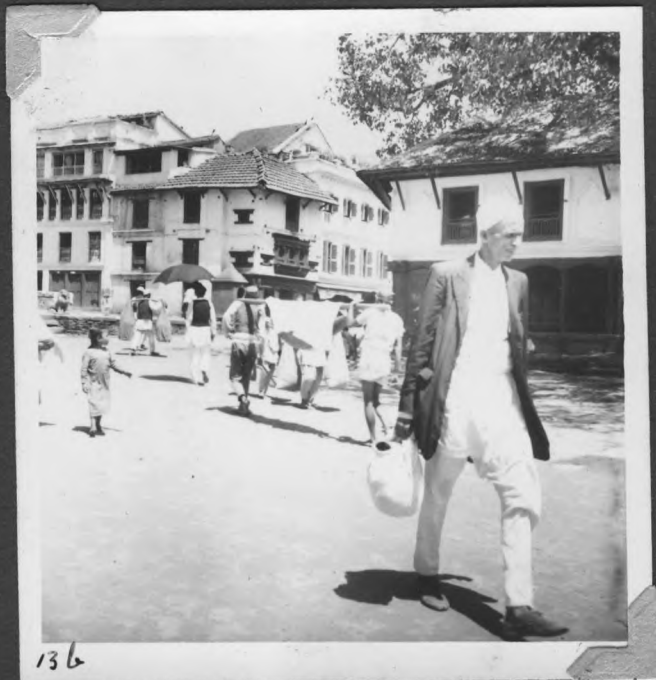


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71. Marriage: The Lakha ceremony. 72. Marriage: The Thakali of the bridegroom's group presenting the traditional ornaments to the bride in her parents' house. 73. Marriage: The bride is taking leave of her parents' relatives by offering to each of them ten betel nuts.



74. Marriage: The traditional Newar 'doly' in which the bride leaves for her husband's home. 75. Marriage: The Thai-Bhu ritual (eating together) in the bridegroom's house.



76. Burha-Junko ceremony or Old Age Initiation. (The initiated one is being drawn in a Rath (chariot). 77. Thakali-Iui-gu (Succession to the office of the Thakali. The Thakali-designate is being conducted through the Lussa-Kussa ritual.) 78. Thakali-Iui-gu: The Thakali-designate with the Thakali-Naki-designate (his wife) at the ceremonial booth.



79. The funeral procession of a child. 80. At the cremation ground: The married daughter is seen scattering the paddy grain around the pyre. 81. The Mitaimha (chief mourner) is seen circulating the pyre before he sets fire to it.



daughter going for Locha (condol
mourning. 83. The Nhaye-numa rito
to the Kusle on the 7th day of dea
undergoing the ceremonial weepi
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CHAPTER IV

Social Organisation: Caste.

This chapter is concerned with the sub-divisions of Newars as viewed from the view points of religion, caste and clan. The Newar society is a complex organisation and is unique in the sense that firstly caste over-rides religion and secondly, within the framework of caste system, tribal organisation has been substantially kept functioning. The net-work of institutions known as 'Guthi' to regulate the life of an individual on the caste and clan level is something which is not to be found among the other Himalayan ethnic groups. What associations and clubs cater to the needs of an individual in our modern society, the Guthis do in the Newar society. But the characteristic features of the Guthis lie in the fact that they all aim at perpetuating the caste and clan values through various institutional acts. Let us now deal in detail with the social grouping.

Religion divides the Newars into two broad divisions - Shiva margi and Buddha margi. The former are the followers of Siva and therefore Hindus; and the latter are Buddhists. The chapter on religion, however, clearly reveals that except for such official distinction, the practical religion of the

Newars is essentially Hinduism. The Hindu wing of the Newars are numerically stronger. ~~It~~ It is difficult to give the exact number of population of the two religious divisions since no such data have been compiled so far and the Census Report of Nepal gives the religion-wise-population undifferentiated as between the various ethnic groups. We may, however, arrive at an estimated population through an indirect way, but in respect of the Valley of Nepal only. The Nepalese Census Report contains the population data according to mother-tongue as well as religion. Assuming that the only non-Newar Buddhist population in the Valley is that of the Tamangs and the Tebetan Bhotias, who number together to 19,000, the number of Newar Buddhists works out to 79,000 and that of the Hindu Newars to 1,57,000. In other words, of the total population of the Newars, 35.11 per cent are Buddhists and the remaining Hindus.

Because of the predominance of Hinduism and also due to their superior numerical strength, the Hindu Newars look down upon their Buddhist counter-part. But in actual life religion hardly constitutes a factor for the determination of social distance. The only basis which determines the status of an individual is the caste. Whether one is Hindu Newar or a Buddhist Newar, caste is his principal concern. Caste, therefore, cuts across religion and brings both the sections

of Newars under a single scheme of social hierarchy. "Loss of caste", Dr. Oaldfield had remarked about eighty-two years ago, "Is the severest punishment society can inflict upon a respectable man, and it is as much dreaded by the Buddhists as by the Hindu Newars. A man thus degraded is always discarded by his family and friends; is despised by the community in which he lives and could associate with none but the lowest classes of the society. On his death not only none of the members of his former caste attends his funeral, but should his nearest relatives be absent at the time of his death no one will perform the last rites of humanity for him and his corpse will be left uncremated on the spot where he died, until it is removed by public scavengers into the fields for vultures and jackals to feed upon".¹ Such remarks are still applicable. We have noticed earlier that a corpse cannot be touched by the members of the bereaved family and that it has to be attended to by the caste-Sana-Guthi. In the absence of co-operation from the Sana-Guthi, the corpse cannot be cremated under the proper caste rites.

In theory, the Newar caste organisation is based on the same Hindu system which stipulates the five-fold divisions of the society with the Brahmins at the head, followed in

1. Sketches from Nipal, Vol. II, London, 1880, p. 155.

order by the Kshatriya, Vaishyas or traders, Shudras and lastly, the Untouchables. But the complex of religions resulting from a long historical process which marked the cultural and political dominance of one ethnic group by the other has led the Newar caste organisation to acquire a peculiar regional pattern. Truly speaking it is a contracted form of the former. Hindu society of the Valley prior to the conquest by the Gorkhas. Two outstanding features of the Newar caste society are that there are two separate priestly castes for the Hindu and the Buddhist divisions, respectively; and that there is no Kshatriya order at present among the Newars. To know the present structure of the Newar caste society, it is necessary that we know something about the past caste-history of the Valley as a whole.

Caste was not unknown to the people of the Valley of Nepal even in the remote past. Legendry history of Nepal tells that in the long forgotten past the ascetics and most of the disciples who came from India into the Valley were of Brahmin and Kshatriya castes. But in all such references the term used is 'Varna'. The first mention of 'Varna' is associated with 'Sikhi-Buddha'.² The disciples of 'Sikhi-Buddha' who remained in the Valley are referred to as

2. J.A.S.B., Vol. III, 1834, p. 216.

belonging to the 'Chaturvarna'. Another ascetic Krakuchand Buddha is said to have converted many people of 'Chaturvarna' to ascetic life.³ Later Gautama Buddha is described as having converted 1,350 persons of different castes.⁴ Another reference relates to the fact that Ashoka's daughter Charumathi was married to a local young man by name, Deopala of the Kshatriya clan in the Valley.⁵ Thus it is suggested in the legends that prior to the beginning of the Christian era, there was already in existence the four Varnas among the inhabitants of the Valley of Nepal. Later we are given to understand that the people were divided into many castes according to their occupations.⁶ Side by side there also existed the four orders of ascetics - Bhikshu, Sravaka, Chailaka and Araham whose abodes were in the forests and monasteries.⁷ The four orders of Hinduism were Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra.

With the beginning of Christian era, the incoming hordes of the various Hindu tribes such as the Abhiras, the Somavamshi Rajputs and the Lichhavis led to a greater assertion of Hinduism. Detailed records of as to how the caste organisation was then worked out is not available in

3. Wright, D. - Op. cit. p.p. 80-81.

4. Ibid:

5. J.A.S.B., Vol. III, 1834, p.220.

6. Ibid, p. 218.

7. Ibid.

the legendary history. The surnames such as 'Gupta' and 'Singh' relating to Abhira Kings, 'Varma' and 'Deo' to Somavamshi Kings clearly suggest that they were Hindus. The Somavamshi King Pashu Preksha Deo is said to have renovated the temple of Pashupati. One of the early Lichhavi inscriptions discovered at Lajim pat⁸ credits the Lichhavi King Man Deo I with the erection of huge Vishnu idol and his display of piety for the Brahmins. Subsequent rulers of the different dynasties in the Valley were all of Kshatriya castes. Thus it would appear that while Buddhism flourished in the Valley, the caste system had also existed alongside with it. Such numerous references to Brahmins, Kshatriyas and to the castes of the other two Varnas suggest that some type of caste system existed in the Valley even during early periods; but it had, however, not evolved itself into a rigid pattern. The continuous flow of the Hindu migrants from the plains during the later periods, in many cases perhaps unaccompanied by their women-folk, must have led to left-handed union with the local mongoloid people. Therefore, the number of status-groups as resulting from the comparative sexual laxity might also have been numerous. It, therefore, fell to the Malla King Jaya Sthiti Malla to give a uniform caste organisation to the people during the 14th century.

8. Levi, S. - Vol. III ins. No. 2, p. 21.

For the purpose of formulating the laws of caste, he invited five Brahmins - Kirti Nath Upadhyaya Kanyakubja, Raghunath Jha Maithili, Srinath Bhatt, Mahinath Bhatt and Ramnath Jha. These Brahmins re-classified the entire social groups of Nepal into four orders - Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Brahmins were divided into three divisions - Pancha Gauda, Pancha Dravida and Jaisi. The Jaisis were not regarded sacred. The Sudras were divided firstly into two divisions - Jyapoo with its 32 divisions and the Kumhal with four divisions. It is not clear from Wright's version of the Vamsavali as to who were included in the Kshatriya order. We can, however, decide this by reference to the ritual privileges and occupations assigned to each of the castes. This is not to be found in Wright's Vamsavali. But the present writer had the opportunity to consult another version of the Vamshavali in manuscript form in the house of Pt. Damaru Vallabh Pant in Kathmandu which proves most helpful for this purpose. The list of castes included in it very nearly tallies with the historical list of castes given by B.H. Hodgson in his manuscript entitled 'Ethnography'.⁹ In the Vamshavali kept with Damaru Ballabh Pant, there are three castes who are allowed to wear sword.

9. J.A.S.B., Vol. IXX, 1923, pp. 555-560 (Reproduced by K.P. Chattopadhyay from the original source).

These are in order of their social precedence: Patra-Vamsa Thakut, Thakuri and Thakur. Among the non-Brahmin castes, they were the people who had the privilege of Das-Karma (ten Samakaras). Therefore, these three groups must have been rated as Kshatriya. The remaining castes (excluding the ^{unclean castes} untouchables) could not be included under Brahmin or Kshatriya since they did not enjoy similar ceremonial privileges. Therefore, all such castes may be taken to have enjoyed the status of Vaishya although there were many gradations among them.

While making the gradations of castes, Buddha-margis were not considered on religious grounds. Hereditary occupation, marriage circles and ceremonial purity as sanctioned by the Hindu Shastras were the factors which governed the status of a caste, whether Buddhist or Hindu. The highest priestly order of the Buddha-margi, the Bandyā or Vanra class was given the status of Sanyasi and recognised as the descendant of Brahmin and Kshatriya Buddhist monks.¹⁰ It is said that this class was respected by all the four castes and must have occupied a rank below the Brahmins.

10. Wright, D. - History of Nepal, p. 185.

It seems that the members of the Malla royal family did not call themselves Newars, as the term Newar is specifically applied to those who had among them four divisions - Jaisi, Acharya, Baidya, Shrestha and Daivagya.¹¹ This very clearly shows that there existed two social groups in the Valley, one which followed the Newar ceremonies and the other which followed the Brahminic ceremonies. On religious basis there were also two groups - Buddhist and Hindus. Besides there were the low castes such as ^{the} Kasai, Pore, Charnakaras, Chyam-Khala and others.

Each of the five divisions of castes was expected to follow a set of rules relating to occupation, ceremonies, residence, civil and social matters such as dress and ornaments.¹² Thus each caste was associated with a certain group of hereditary occupations which it ought to follow. With regard to ceremonies the Brahmin and Kshatriya as already stated, were to follow Das-Karma and wear the sacred thread. They should further employ a Brahmin during 'Jutho' and 'Sutak' (death or other types of pollution). Further rules were framed which prevented the marriage of a Brahmin or Kshatriya with any other caste. Jayasthī Malla also laid down two additional rules pertaining to house building¹³ - Bastu-Prakaran and Ashta-Varga. These

11. Ibid, pp. 186.

12. Ibid.

13. Wright, D. - History of Nepal, 1877, p. 184.

stipulated that if the house of either of Brahmin or a Kshatriya was to be built, the foundation ceremonies should be performed by the Brahmins; and of a Vaishya or Shudra by the Daivagyas (the Joshis). The low-caste people from Kasai and downward were not allowed to have houses roofed with tiles.¹⁴ They were compelled to show proper respect to the people of higher castes, and were allowed only certain type of dress. For example the Kasais were not allowed to wear coat with sleeves.¹⁵ No cap, coat, shoes and gold ornaments were permitted to be worn by the low castes such as Fore, Kasai and Kullus.¹⁶ These low castes were further differentiated by the specific rule which prohibited accepting drinking water from their hands.¹⁷

With the conquest of the Valley by the Gorkha prince, Prithivi Narain Shah in 1769, the caste society of Nepal was organised with a greater rigidity, only to the advantage of the new ruling group. The conquering Gorkhas refused to recognise the five-fold orders of the vanquished. They denied the first-two orders to the local people. The Kshatriya order was not allowed to be claimed by the former

14. Ibid. p. 183

15. Ibid, p. 183.

16. Ibid, p. 183.

17. Ibid, p. 186

Kshatriya of the Valley. They also created a double order between the Kshatriya caste and Vaishya, which was accorded to the two Hinduised mongoloid tribes - Magar and Gurung who with them ^{formed} ~~found~~ the military tribes of Nepal. The former Deo-Bhaju, although recognised by the Gorkhas as Brahmins, were looked down upon and had no inter-commerce with them. The former Rajput and other high castes such as the Kayastha, the Shresthas and the Udas were all pushed down ^{in the caste} and included in the Vaishya caste for secular purposes.

From the point of view of ceremonial purity all the inhabitants of the Valley were treated by the Gorkhas not only as of one caste, but also of Shudra status. The principal grounds for the adoption of such an attitude towards the vanquished were their non-Brahminic ceremonies and dietary which are prohibited for the three upper castes. Use of liquor and buffalo meat in ceremonies, the custom of divorce and remarriage, accompanied by a number of other cultural items not conforming to the Brahminic way of life, formed the basis for the Gorkha's refusal to accept the Newars as their equal.

To maintain this social superiority over the local inhabitants who were all bracketed as Newars irrespective of their former caste statuses, two different sets of laws were

implemented - one relating to the Hindu society of Nepal as a whole and the other with particular reference to the Newars. Brahmins were held to be the most sacred order of the society, so much so that killing a Brahmin was one of the five principal crimes known as Panch-Khat.¹⁸ Sexual union with a woman of sacred castes (Brahmin and Kshatriya) by a man of lower caste resulted in the capital punishment for the latter along with the confiscation of his property.¹⁹ The aggrieved Parbatia (Gorkha) husband had the right to kill the adulterer.²⁰ This was, however, modified during the time of Maharaja Jung Bahadur²¹ towards the later half of the 19th century. Under such a modified law, the aggrieved husband had to prove in the public court the guilt of the adulterer. If proved, he could hack the adulterer with his Khukri, the latter being, however, allowed the chance of escaping by running away, for which purpose, he was given a start with an advantage of few yards. The man could also save his life if he passed through between the legs of the aggrieved husband or if the woman publicly confessed that he was not the first man with whom she had gone astray. At the same time there was no law to prevent a Gorkha seducing a Newar girl or a Newar man's wife. He could do so, the penalty being some compensation only.

18. Hodgson, B.H. - Miscellaneous Essays relating to the Indian Subjects, Vol. II, London, 1880, p. 215.

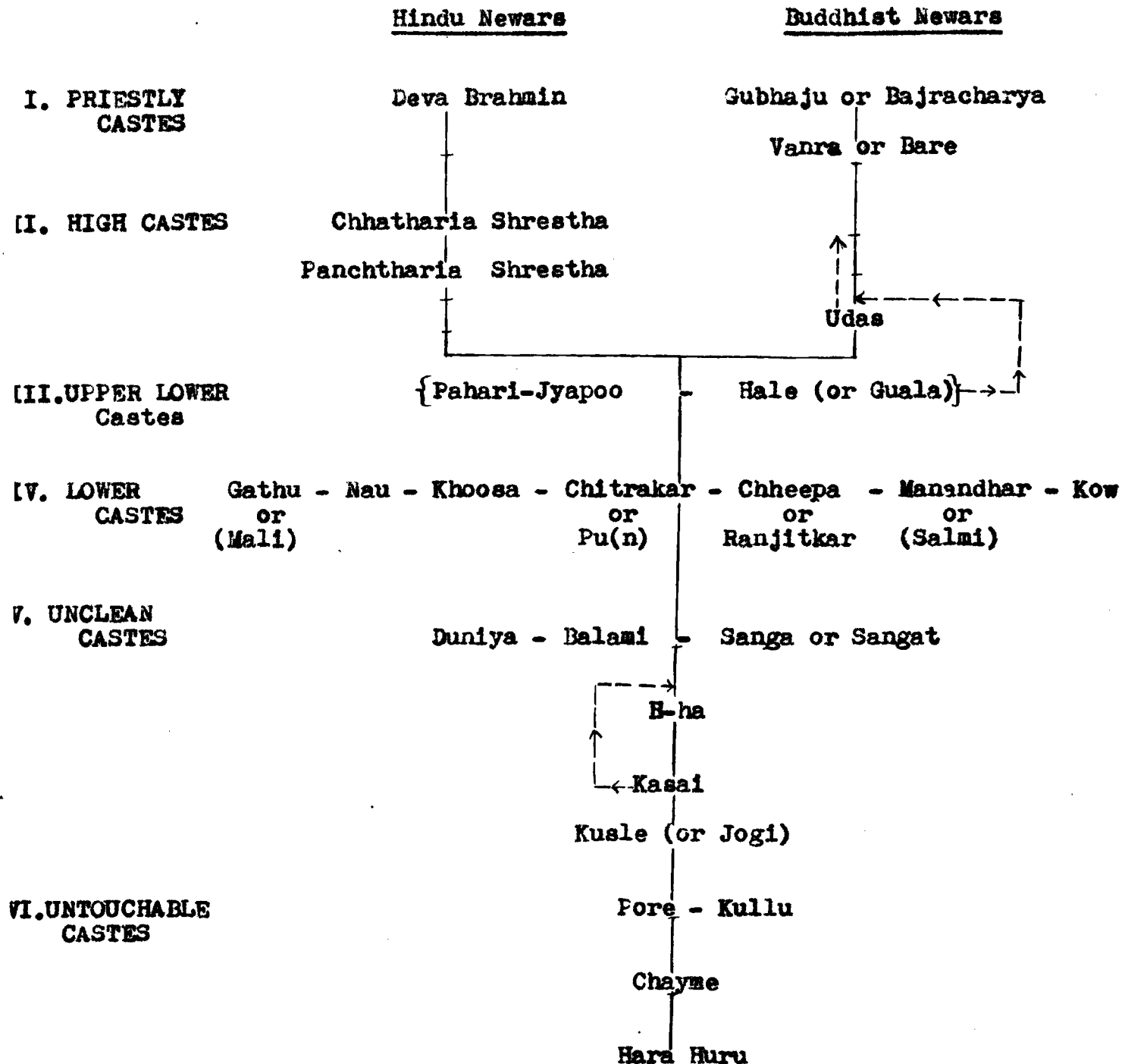
19. Ibid, p. 235.

20. Ibid.

21. Wright, D. - p. 32.

The present caste system among the Newars is, therefore, in a great measure, the result of the regulation and control of the Hindu society of Nepal by the politically dominant Gorkhas. It is also in a sense due to the traditional rule of descent which the Newars follow. Among the Newars, as against the Gorkhas, a mixed progeny of a lower caste woman by union with a man of relatively higher caste is given the caste-status of its mother. The scarcity of marriageable women in the higher caste groups with the resultant practice of morganic marriages may be suggested as the additional contributory factor for the present state of caste society of the Newars.

The society of the Newars is regarded to be composed of two different sets of caste hierarchy - the Buddhist castes and the Hindu castes. And it has been the general practice to present these two as two different social organisations. But, as already suggested, such a view simply on the basis of religion, seems to be untenable. So far as the caste hierarchy is concerned all the Newars come under a single scheme of hierarchy. The present writer proposes to give the following scheme of Newar caste hierarchy. The reasons for these are given in the ethnographic description of the castes to be followed subsequently.

NEWAR CASTE HIERARCHY

Note: Castes on the same horizontal plane are equal in status,
 arrow shows the status-claim by the individual caste.

I. PRIESTLY CASTES:

By priestly castes we mean those caste groups, the members of which, can become Guru and Purohita and officiate in the Newar social and religious ceremonies. This definition helps us to avoid some of the other castes which fulfil some kind of priestly functions, but do not enjoy the sacred status. Of the priestly castes, there are two - the Brahmin priest, Deo-Bhaju and the Buddhist priest Vanara. The former is higher in social status than the latter.

The Deo-Bhajus are the priests of the Shivanmargi Newars. They occupy the highest rank in the Newar social hierarchy. They endogamous and do not have any social intercourse with the Parbatia Brahmins. Some of the appellations given to them are Upadhya, Rajopadhya, Deo-Brahmu and Guru Baje. The term Rajopadhya is derived from their former role as royal priests to the Malla Kings of Nepal. Deo-Brahmin and Guru-Baje mean a spiritual teacher.

According to one of their traditions as narrated to the writer by a Deo-Bhaju, their ancestors came originally from Kannauj. It is said that first they came to Simrawngarha (in the tarrai) where from they were imported into the Valley by the royal Mallas to act as their priests. One of their

ancestors, it is said, went to the Western Nepal and thus became the ancestors of the present Upadhya Brahmins of the Gorkha community.

The Deo-Bhajus have three exogamous gotras - Gargi of Madhyandini Branch, Kaushiki of Madhyandini branch, and Bharadwaj of Tripurbara-Madhyandini branch. They are also split into two endogamous sections - Deo-Bhaju and Lakhe. The latter is considered to be the progeny of Brahmin widows.

Dr. Oaldfield²² had mentioned Upadea, Bhaū and Lavarju as the three sub-divisions of the Deo-Bhaju. Such sub-divisions were said to be based on^{the} differences of occupations. The first section was the priest, the second spiritual adviser to the sick, and the third, described as inferior Upadhya Brahmin who acted as the priest for the lower castes. At present there are only two -sub-divisions as mentioned above.

Among the Brahmins of Nepal, the Deo-Bhajus do not enjoy an equal social status with the Parbatiya Brahmins. The latter do not inter-dine and inter-marry with the former, and accord to them a rank only above the Jaisi. Towards the

^{Op. cit. Vol. I}
22. *Ibid*, p. 177.

Deo-Bhaju, all the sections of Parbatiya Brahmins behave like a closed community. The main ground for the refusal to accept the Deo-Bhaju into their fold is that they (Deo-Bhaju) are priests to the Newars whose domestic ceremonies are alike to that of the Shudras. An additional reason is purported to be the practising of Tantrism by them involving use of liquor. The Deo-Bhajus also on their part refuse to recognise the superior status of the Gorkha Brahmins. On the contrary, they look down upon them on the ground that most of these Brahmins do not hesitate to work as farmers and that in majority of cases, they do not follow the profession of learning the Shastras and Puranas.

The Deo-Bhajus are at present a dwindling community. One of the Deo-Bhaju Brahmins gave the present writer to understand that his caste found it hard to obtain a wife since its population was small. It is now difficult for them to adhere to former rigid Brahminic restriction on marriage within seven degrees of consanguineal relationship. The position would have been eased, if marriage alliance could be effected with the Parbatia Brahmins. The latter have so far refused to consider such proposals. The only alternative left open now to the Deo-Bhajus is either to lower down the ^{degrees of} marriage-restriction on the mother's side or start taking wives from the Newar castes below them. Consequently, they have fallen

back on the first alternative and is said to have brought down the prohibited degrees on the mother's side to three. It is even then hard for a Deo-Bhaju widower to obtain a second wife after the death of the first. They have formed a council to regulate their society. Scarcity of girls of marriageable age has given rise to the practice of exchange-marriage. It was stated by the same Deo-Bhaju informant that marriage was easy if a Deo-Bhaju had a sister to offer in exchange for a bride.

The Gorkha Brahmins having entered the Valley are posing a problem to the Deo-Bhajus. Being politically and numerically superior there is a tendency on their part to supplant the latter. At least outside the Valley wherever the Newars are to be found, the priestly functions are provided by the Parbatia Brahmins.

Next to Deo-Bhaju Brahmins come the Vanras who are orthodox Buddhist. Their high ~~as~~ status ranking next to Deo-Bhaju is recognised by all the Newar castes. They claim descent from the ancient monks of the Brahmin and Kshatriya orders, who were said to have been forced by Shankaracharya to enter into family life.²³ The fact that until half a century ago they used to accept Brahmin boys into their caste²⁴ shows the recognition by them of the higher status of the Brahmin caste.

23. Wright, D. - History of Nepal, 1877, p. 185.

^{Oaldfield, vol. II}
24. Ibid, p. 138.

The Vanras are divided into two main divisions - Gubhaju or Bajracharya and Vanra or Bare or Shakya Bhikshu. Gubhaju means a priest. The appellation of Bajracharya is derived from the hereditary right to handle the 'Bajra' and 'Ghanta', which is not enjoyed by the Vanra sections. Bare is a corrupt term for Vanra. The term Shakya-Bhikshu is applied to the latter section because it is said that they were the followers of Sakya Sinha (Gautama Buddha). This term is especially applied to designate the Vanras of Patan.

The Gubhaju or Bajra Charya is the highest priestly order of the Newar Buddhist society and, therefore, ranks higher than the Vanra. In theory these two divisions can freely interdine and intermarry. But it is reported from Kathmandu town that the Bajra Charya section takes wives from the Vanra but does not give its women to the latter. Priestly functions are strictly confined to the Gubhaju section. A Gubhaju by his failure to undergo the proper initiation known as Acharya-Luigu is relegated to the status of Buddha charya who can do all the priestly functions except the handling of 'Bajra' and 'Ghanta'. The right to become a priest is, therefore, determined by birth and by the initiation of Acharya-Luigu.

Oaldfield²⁵ had recorded the following nine occupational sub-divisions among them who could interdine and intermarry:

i) Gubhaju or Bajracharya	:	Priest of the highest order
ii) Barreju	:	Gold and Silver smith.
iii) Bhikshu	:	Inferior priest who had the hereditary calling of Gold and Silver smith.
iv) Bhikkshu	:	Gold and Silver smith.
v) Nebhar	:	" " " "
vi) Nebhar Bheri	:	Worker in brass and iron who especially made metal images of gods and cooking utensils.
vii) Tankarmi	:	Who made guns and cannons of iron, brass and other metals.
viii) Gansa Bhari	:	Carpenter and plasterer of house.
ix) Chiwa Barhi	:	--- do ---

Of these sub-divisions, the majority of them have disappeared. Many of them were on enquiry found to be even unknown in the Valley. With the disappearance of the hereditary occupations, the corresponding sub-divisions appear to have either merged themselves or disappeared. As what has been said earlier, we find today only three sub-divisions among the Buddhamargi priestly caste - Bajracharya, Buddha-charya and Bare or Vanra.

25. Oaldfield, H.A. - Sketches from Nepal, Vol.II, pp.181-182.

The Vanras, excepting the Bajracharya, still follow their hereditary occupation as gold and silver smiths. Another occupation very favourite to the Vanra is tailoring. Besides, they also take up any secular profession which can afford them a livelihood. Some of them are employed as Government servants, some as teachers and some as shop-keepers. But such occupations do not lead to the giving up of their hereditary calling. For instance, one of the writer's Bajracharya friends, who is a graduate of the Patna University and employed in a local medical store, side by side, carries on his priestly profession and is further connected with the worship of the white Bhairava.

The Bajracharya and Vanra both live in their respective Bahals, which constituted in the former times the monasteries or Viharas where the Buddhist celebrities lived. Each Bahal is occupied by a group of families linked through the male line. The property of the Bahal is owned in common by all the families under the headship of a common Thakali. As against the other Newar groups, the members of a Bahal behave like a republic, in which even the women participate in the deliberations. Each Bahal beside having a common Dewali, also has a common Agama deity. And the net work of social relationships is woven round these two cults of Dewali and Agama or Aga(n).

There are eight senior elders who are in charge of the Bahal-group. In some of Bahal-communities the offices are filled in by election, while in others, they are strictly in order of the seniority of age. Each office is a life time position and can fall vacant only on the death of the person holding it.

As a cultural group the Vanra has its closest affinity with the Udas caste which ranks below it. If the Hindu and the Buddhist Newars are separated from each other, the Vanra caste is at the top of the Buddhist society to be followed in order by the Udas, Jyapoo and Manandhar.

Oaldfield²⁶ had mentioned that the Vanra did not interdine with the Udas. The tradition among the Vanra and Udas, however, does not substantiate the above remark. The writer's own enquiry with these people revealed that the Vanra and Udas used to interdine, followed by a long break owing to the closer association of the Udas with the Tebetan monks. The demand by the Udas that the Vanra should interdine with them was going on during the present writer's stay in the Valley. Such a demand was based on the ground that the Vanra had always dined with the Udas in the past. The long

26. Oaldfield, H.A. - Sketches from Nipal, Vol.I p. 184.

standing dispute came to an end through the intervention of one Lokdarshan, a Bajra charya, who was then the Private Secretary to His Majesty the King of Nepal. The Vanra now inter-dines with the Udas, it is reported.

II. HIGH CASTES:

Below the priestly castes come the three caste groups in order of their social statuses. These are the Chhatharia, the Panch-tharia and the Udas. The Chhatharia call themselves as the higher Shrestha* in order to distinguish themselves from the Panchtharia who also assume the surname of Shrestha. If the Vanra priest is excluded, the Chhatharia caste occupies the second order analogous to the second order of the Hindu society. This group comprises of many sub-divisions claiming diverse ethnic origins. It includes all the former Kshatriya and Vaishya Newars whom Hodgson had placed above the Shresthas. All of the sections eat food cooked by the Deo-Bhaju Brahmin but do not accept such food from the hands of the Vanras, though the latters are accepted as priests by many of their sections who are Buddhists.

How the term Chhatharia came to be applied to these people is difficult to ascertain. One of the members of the

* In Newari the term Shrestha is pronounced as Sheshya, but the former term is more ⁱⁿvogue. Hence it is retained by the present writer throughout the thesis.

Chhatharia caste told the writer that this term was derived from the occupation which they followed in the past. 'Chha' means in Nepali six and 'thari' means counsellor. Therefore, six-tharia refers to the six counsellors in the court of Malla Kings and to them is attributed the ancestry of the Chhatharia Newars. It is also suggested that the term is derived from the term 'Kshatri' as applied to the second order of Hindu caste. In the old days of Malla kings, there were definitely a Kshatriya order, apart from the Royal Mallas themselves. Traces of this caste can still be found in the present Thaco-ju-ju, Amatya and Rathor clans falling under this head.

The Chhatharia Newars are split into a number of sub-groups. These are (1)Malla, (2) Thaco-ju-ju, (3) Joshi, (4)Achar, (5)Pradhan (6)Amatya, (7)Raj-Bhandari and (8)Munshi or Kayastha. These sections interdine and intermarry among themselves.

The Mallas claim to be the descendants of former Malla Kings of Nepal. Formerly, when they were the rulers of the Valley, they were acknowledged as Surya-Vamsi Kshatriya. Prior to their advent in the Valley they were known to have flourished in the western part of Nepal. In one of the inscriptions of Lichhavi King Man Deo of Nepal,

Mallas are mentioned as inhabiting to the West of the Valley across the river Gandaki,²⁷ who were defeated by the former in the battle.

Mallas were known in India from the very early times. Manu makes an allusion to them along with Nichhavis (Lichhavis).²⁸ Kautilya (400 B.C.) describes them as a group of petty rulers.²⁹ Levi³⁰ identifies the present Male-Bung in Western Nepal with Male-Bhumi (place of Malla) from where they appear to have migrated to the Valley of Nepal. The Gorkha or Parbatia Malla with its oval face shows more physical affinity with a Newar Malla than with the Gorkhas.

At present the Mallas are very few in number and is in conformity with their claim to the former Kshatriya order. For a long time they had refused to intermarry with the other Chhatharia Newars and is said to have retained their Kshatriya status for a long time. But later they went the same way as their predecessors, the Lichhavis and the Thakuries, and are now bracketed with the latter. Now-a-days the Mallas are employed in the civil services. They have also taken up to trading.

27. Indian Antiquary - IX Inscription No. 1.

28. Jha, G.N. - Manusmriti, Vol. V, 1926, p. 269.

29. Shamsastry, R. - Kautilya's Arthasastra, 1951, p. 407.

30. Levi, S. - Le Nepal, Vol. II, pp. 210; pp. 213-14.

Thaco-ju-ju means Thakuri King. In Newari the term 'ju-ju' is applied to designate a King. This appellation accords well with the claim by the Thaco-ju-ju sub-caste as the descendant of the former Vaishya Kshatriya kings of the Valley. During the reign of the Mallas they continued to exert powerful influence on the politics of the Valley. With the fall of their masters they lost even that small glories which were left to them since the days when they ceased to become the kings of the different principalities in the Valley.

The Thaco-ju-ju caste is mostly found in the towns of Bhaktapur, Patan and Kathmandu. In the Kathmandu town their principal concentration is at Bhimsen-Than and Thamel. They are, however, very few in numbers. At present, they are for the most part shop-keepers and traders, though many of them are employed in the civil services. Their association with the festival of Bhimsen has been noted elsewhere. It is probable that their original home was in Do-Lakha from where, as the tradition tells they moved to the Valley bringing with them the cult of Bhimsen.

The Joshi section of 'Chhatharia' is partly Brahmin and partly non-Brahmin. Its hereditary occupation is to expound the Shresthas and assist the Deo-Brahmins in all

ceremonies and religious activities of the Newars. People of this sub-caste are also associated with the worship at the temple of Talleju. It may be mentioned that Hodgson and Oaldfield both agree in assigning them the rank of Vaishyas.³¹ Hamilton describes them as the progeny of a Brahmin and a Newar female, and terms them as Jaisi.³² Their own tradition, however, describes them as the descendant of the Brahmin widows. A tradition in support of their similar origin is also claimed by the Jaisi Brahmin of the Gorkha group. The writer found in the hilly regions on the Western extremity of the Valley a large population of the Jaisi Brahmin who belong to the Gorkha group. The identical tradition of origin of these two different communities suggests affinity between them. Their differentiation from each other may have been due to the assimilation of the one group into the Newar culture, and of the other into the Gorkha culture. We have already noted a similar branching off into two different cultural groups of the same people in respect of the Mallas. The fact that the present Joshi Newar caste is still indispensable as a priest in the Newar domestic ceremonies, in addition to the Deo-Bhaju priest, suggests their formerly being of the Brahmin status.

31. J.A.S.B., Vol. 19, 1923, p. 11 (Quoted).

32. Hamilton, F. - An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal,^{p. 33}

In physical features though the Joshis tend to approximate to the mongoloid groups the Brahminic features are still noticeable and conforms to their tradition that they were the original Brahmins of Nepal who were later superseded by another wave of immigration of Deo-Bhaju Brahmins from India. With the superimposition of the Deo-Bhaju Brahmins, accompanied by the scarcity of women among themselves, they had to take wives from below and thus amalgamated themselves with the non-Brahmins. But the recorded history of the Valley speaks some what differently. The Jaisi, along with the Achars which follows are mentioned as sub-divisions of the Shrestha coming from Malabar as will be seen later.

Likewise, the Achar also claims to be Brahmin originality. He is also called Achaju and is said to have been degraded following the acceptance of non-Brahminic ways of life and intermarriage with the Shresthas. According to the religious avocation, the Achar is divided into (i) Karma-Charya; (ii) Bhootacharya; (iii) Pitma charya; and (iv) Guruva charya. They are all connected with the esoteric cult and are mostly concerned with the worship of the various types of Shakti deities. Tradition asserts that they first came with the Karnatic prince Nanyadeo (about 10th Century A.D.) to

Sirawn Garha. When Hari Singh Deo, a descendant of Wanyadeo, brought the goddess Talleju into the Valley, he appears to have brought his priest also. They perhaps lost their supremacy with the fresh importation of Panch Dravida and Panch Gauda Brahmins by the Malla Kings in the 14th Century A.D. The fact that their priestly services are still indispensable in every Hindu Newar ceremonials goes to suggest that, as in the case of the Joshi, Deo-Bhaju Brahmins were later introduced. It may be mentioned that the Gorkha Brahmins have also an Acharya clan among them and the difference between them and the Newar Acharya may be merely a matter of purity of blood.

The term Pradhan speaks of their past role as counsellors in the days of Newar Rajas. Members of this caste assume now-a-days the surname of Pradhan or Pradhananga. They, however, refuse to regard the Newar of similar surname from Darjeeling as their equal in status on the contention that the latter is not pure blooded since it is the practice in that place to assume the title of Pradhan by all the Shrestha Newars. The Pradhan is divided into Shivamargi and Buddhamargi. About fifty Buddhamargi Pradhan families are still found in the Thamel tole of Kathmandu. Religion in any way does not constitute a bar to the connubial relationship between the two sections. They intermarry and interdine.

The term Amatya owes its origin to the former status of ministers in the days of Newar kings when the persons of this class occupied the sixth rank in the Kshatriya order. Some of the present Amatya people claim to be Rathod Rajput. Persons of this section are mostly traders, government servants and teachers and they enjoy a high ceremonial status in the Newar society.

Raj Bhandari derives its name from the hereditary occupation as store-keepers in the days of Newar Kings. They also acted, and still act, as cooks in the Talleju temple and were given the status of Vaishyas during those days. Their ancestors are said to have come with Hari Singh Deo as stewards of the goddess Talleju.

The Munshi claims to have been descended from the original Kayasthas who were imported into the Valley as scribes. A large number of them are still reported to be living in the vicinity of Bhatgaon where they are known as Kasa-ju or Kayastha. They generally prefer to be employed in the Government services. It is the only caste in whose wedding the bridegroom is necessary in the marriage-procession.

The above Chhatharia sub-castes of Newars are split up into numerous clans. It is not possible to give separately

the clan names of each of the sub-divisions and, still less^{possible} to completely enumerate the clan-names: they have not been recorded by any earlier writer. The writer tried to collect the Newar clan names, but in the majority of the cases it was impossible to group them under each of the main castes. Some of the Chhatharia clan names include:

1. Mhaske (the giver of mass pulse);
2. Kasu ju (Kayastha);
3. Chipalu (salt and ginger)
4. Phai (giver of ram);
5. Kailha;
6. Raj Lawat;
7. Gonga ju (hen);
8. Bij Kuchha (the place of the house);
9. Lakhe (demon);
10. Khau (cold);
11. Basi (five hooded snake);
12. Sainju (Ehotia);
13. Chakhu(n) (a bird).

It can be seen that the few clan names we have are of many types. Some of them are based on occupation, some indicate ethnic inter-mixture while others are the names of objects, chiefly relating to the various kinds of food. All the above mentioned Chhatharia Newars are entitled to wear Janeo. They do not intermarry and interdine with the Shrestha who rank below them. In the historical list of king Jayas-thiti Malla

they were graded in the following order:

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| 1. Thakur (probably it referred to the Mallas themselves); | 2. Thakuri; |
| 3. Joshi; | 4. Bharo; |
| 5. Shrestha; | 6. Amatya; |
| 7. Kayastha; | 8. Patra Vansha; |
| 9. Thakut; | 10. Gubhaju charya; |
| 11. Karma charya; | 12. Shiva Charya and |
| 13. Pitha charya. | |

Of these the first, second, fifth and seventh were clearly Kshatriyas of different gradations. Joshi, Bharao, Shrestha, the different types of Acharyas and the Kayasthas were non-Kshatriyas. Now the amalgamation of all these diverse people into a single ^{and} exogamous body is the result of historical process. These people were the migrants from India, which is also confirmed ^{to some extent} by their clan names. With the shortage of women among them, they had to marry women from the lower ranks. After a period they became one single block.

The term Panch-tharia is of recent innovation and is employed to designate a group of Shresthas who are not considered to be pure blooded. This sub-caste ranks next

to the Chhatharia. Within the Newar community the status of this group is analogous to that of the Chhetri ranking below the Thakuri and the Shah of the present Kshatriya order of Nepal. Under this caste Hodgson³³ included many sub-castes which were said to be mixed progeny. He noted that there were¹⁴ sub-divisions including the Shrestha proper, and ascribes the origins of these to the various unions of Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya. Hamilton³⁴ noted three main divisions, namely, Siva, Bagul and Swal. Of these in the Valley now-a-days Nepalese Vamsavali mentions them as having descended from the Nair soldiery of Malabar and are described as Brahmaputra-Kshatriya.³⁵ The majority of them now assume the surname of Shrestha. It includes various classes who are the descendants of the Chhatharia Newars out of the union either with the Shrestha or the lower caste woman. There are also Joshis and Achars, which sub-divisions are included in this group. They are the descendants of Chhatharia Joshi and Achar fathers and the lower caste mothers.

The Panchtharia Newars are split into numerous clans which are derived in the majority of cases from the names of the different kinds of food. Some of the clan names collected and classified by the present writer are as follows:

33. Requoted from 'History of Newar Culture', J.A.S.B., Vol. IX, 1923, p. 509.

34. Hamilton, F. - Op. cit. p. 33.

35. Wright, D. - Op. cit. p. 167.

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|---|---|
| 1. Shrestha | 2. Bhaju |
| 3. Deya-ju | 4. Naya-ju |
| 5. Sakha-Marmi | 6. Sya-baji (a kind of flattened rice) |
| 7. Chhoyala (a kind of meat preparation) | 8. Pain Baji (another kind of flattened rice) |
| 9. Bhuti (another kind of meat preparation) | 10. Haku Musya (a variety of paddy) |
| 11. Dhau (curd) | 12. Duwal |
| 13. Tepah | 14. Dhau-Bhani |
| 15. Singh | 16. Nhya-chhola |
| 17. Wa (cake) | 18. Mhukha (Mushroom) |
| 19. Makah (monkey) | 20. Themí-Shrestha |
| 21. Joshi | 22. Chhipi |
| 23. Achar | 24. Mulmi |
| 25. Baide. | |

Of the above, the status of Themí-Shrestha and Chhipi is disputed. Some times they are refused the rank of Shrestha. It may be mentioned that Hodgson had placed Themí Shrestha even below the Jyapoo and Pihí and was described by him as an offshoot of the latter.³⁶ Their own tradition of origin ascribes them to have come from Do-Lakha (east of Valley). The comparative higher social position now enjoyed by the Themí-Shrestha since the days of Hodgson indicates as to how the rise in economic status has led to a corresponding rise in social status.

36. J.A.S.B., Vol. 19, 1923, p.543.

There is a lot of confusion among the various sub-groups of the Panchtharia with regard to the gradations of social status. Unless marriage alliance is established none of these interlines with the other. The social gradation is observed according to the caste of the mother. In this respect the Shresthas have adopted the Parbatia rule of descent under which the mixed progeny is given an intermediate caste status, instead of relegating its caste to that of its mother as is the case with the majority of the Newars.

Another group of the high caste Newars is the Udas. The term Udas is sought to be explained in a variety of ways. It is taken to mean Upasak or householder. It is said that when the Vanras were ascetics, the Udas were the people who represented the Buddhist section of the highest caste in the Valley. It, however, now includes a variety of people fused into one through many centuries of inter-marriages. The main characteristic of this caste is that their sub-groupings are based on the hereditary callings - all of them being of artisan class.

The Udas do not recognise that they rank lower than the Shresthas. In fact they claim that they are on par with the Chhatharia Newars, thus claiming even a higher status than the Panchtharia Newars. As between the Shresthas and this community there is complete restriction imposed on both sides with regard to interdining and intermarriage. But it is reported that the Udas accept into their caste-fold a mixed progeny of their women by a Chhatharia man and eat food cooked by such a progeny, while there is no reciprocation from the other side.

The Udas are mainly concentrated in the town of Kathmandu and sparsely found in Patan and not at all in Bhatgaon. The chief localities which they inhabit in *the* Kathmandu town are Nardevi, Asan, Ithum Bahal, Marutole, Mahadeo Loni, Te-Bahal and Kel-tole. Each of these toles is occupied by a particular sub-division of ^{them} it and represents the early colony of the different artisan groups before their amalgamation into Udas caste.

The Udas caste is sub-divided into the following eight sub-divisions based on their hereditary callings.

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| 1. Tula dhar | : | Trader and merchant |
| 2. Vania | : | Trader and Merchant, chiefly dealing in spices. |
| 3. Sikarmi | : | Wood worker and house builder. |
| 4. Marhi-Karmi | : | Confectioner |
| 5. Tava or Tamrakar | : | Worker in copper, brass, gold and silver. |
| 6. Lohn-Karmi | : | Worker in stone and ivory. |
| 7. Awa | : | Brick and tile maker. |
| 8. Kansakar or Kasa | : | Worker in bronze-metal. |

The above terms which are used to designate the sub-divisions are also used as surnames.

About a century ago Brahm Hodgson³⁷ mentioned two more sub-divisions of them. These were Sirha-Khow (red lead maker) and Kotaju (door keeper). The present writer, however, could not discover such sub-divisions in the contemporary Newar society in the Valley. Such professions can be followed by any person and do not denote a particular caste or sub-caste.

The Udas is the most homogeneous community of all the castes of Newars. All of them intermarry and interdine. None of these sections, however, recognises the Tamot

(Tamsakar) of Patan. They refuse to interdine and intermarry with the latter group on the ground that they eat chicken while the former do not. The Tamot of Patan, it is said, came from Mathura and are also credited with the construction of the famous Krishna Mandir of that town. They seem to be of the same ethnic stock as the Kansakar or Tamot of Kathmandu.

The Udas are a wealthy people and mostly engaged in trades and metal-work. One significant point to note about their trade is that it is mostly with Tebet. They very rarely go out of the Valley for trading purposes, except to the above mentioned country. Although the sub-divisions of Udas indicate occupational groupings they are no longer confined to their hereditary occupations; they take to all sorts of secular professions^s too. On the other hand many of the occupations excepting the metal-works, are followed by other Newar castes also. For example Marhi-Karmi (confectioner), Sikarmi (carpenter), Awa* (brick-maker) groups are also to be found among the Shresthas and Jyapoos and several other Newar castes.

As to the origin of this caste there are many versions of tradition. One of these tells that originally it constituted the group of those nine families who refused

* Awa is a term also used in Marathi to denote brick oven.

to follow the caste system. Of such families, there were seven of the Shresthas and one each of Kow and Malla. Another version states that the mixed progeny of a Vanra by union with a Tebetan woman was given the rank of Udas. Even to this day such progeny is included in the Udas caste. This may perhaps explain the trade connection of the Udas with Tebet. But not all the sub-divisions among them may have been in the beginning the result of such wedlocks; for the different hereditary callings followed by its different sections suggest amalgamation into one group of diverse artisan castes who had perhaps migrated from India in the remote days and who had accepted the Buddhist religion. The physical features of the Udas are quite mongoloid, but among the older male generation, the whole complex of features gives a non-mongolian glimpse. The tradition of origin of the Tamot of Patan town affords a further clue to this. Again the historical list of castes drawn during the reign of King Jayasthiti Mall in the 14th Century shows a Hindu section of Tamot side by side with the Buddhist one although this section is not mentioned in their respective periods by Hodgson and Oaldfield. Such Hindu Tamots used to employ Brahmin, Joshi and Acharya as their priests.³⁸ The Patan Tamots were probably Hindus as shown by their connection with the Krishna Mandir. They might have for a long time been unabsorbed into the Udas group owing to the difference of religion between the two sections.

38. J.A.S.B. IXX, 1923, p. 556.

Another group of Tamots are now half merged with the Chhetris. This leads us to the view that there used to be more or less continual migration of metal workers from India from time to time. After lapse of certain time they were made to merge themselves with the local community through intermarriage. Those who went into the Valley during the Newar King's time probably became Buddhamargi or Shiva-Margi Newars according to the religion they adopted; and those who had gone after the fall of Newar King's power are in the process of being assimilated into the Gorkha community. The latter fact is evidenced by the conditions of the Indian Tamot. Consequent on the conquest of the Valley, the Gorkhas rose to be the ruling community. Naturally an immigrant community which is forced to follow the local culture is more susceptible to the ways of the dominant one. The Indian Tamots of Kathmandu claim themselves to be Agrawals. The writer was informed that they came from Ajodhya about three hundred years ago. Till quite recently they used to bring their wives from India but geographical hardships caused isolation and made it difficult for them to maintain a constant marriage relation with their castemen in India. Therefore, they have started marrying women from the Chhetri clan of the Gorkhas and they now employ a Parbatia Brahmin priest in their ceremonies.

Some of the surnames of the Udas still show traces^{also} of their affinity with the Rajputs. Thus in the geneology of the celebrated Newar poet Shri Chitradhar, his male ancestor in the 12th lineal ascendant generation is shown to bear the surname of Singh. In addition, some of the Udas use the surname of Hada. Similar surname is also used by a section of Chhatharia who claim to be the Rajput migrant from Rajputana. Even in the present time the surname of Singh is used by the Udas.

But the metal workers were perhaps not left along to form the second order of the Buddhist community. Their rank and file were swelled by abstraction from the high caste Hindu Newars who accepted Buddhism on the one hand and on the other from the common masses now known as Jyapoo. This had probably happened before the reign of Jayasthiti Malla when caste rules were not rigid and when such scope for flexibility existed. Later the mixed progeny of a Vanra man with a Tebetan woman was also included within this caste, a practice which is still in evidence.

K.P.Chhattopadhyay³⁹ regards the Udas and the Vanras as the people of the same blood, differentiated from each other

39. Chattopadhyay, K.P. - Op. cit. p. 478.

owing to their migration in different periods of history. He thinks that Udas were the descendants of the earlier immigrants and are of mixed blood and the Vanras, the later people of purer descent. He rejects H.P. Shastri's views⁴⁰ that the Udas are the descendants of the householder class (Grihasthas) from which the former Bandya clergymen used to be recruited. K.P. Chattopadhyay's rejection of this theory is based on the ground that if the Bandyas were recruited from the Udas class it scarcely seems possible that on their own downfall they would succeed in forming a rigid group separated from their friends and relations, the Udas. For, he thinks, that the only difference between the Bandyas and the former Grihasthas (householders) was in their celibacy and religious life. Once the rules grew lax and the monks lapsed from their vows such a bar would disappear. He, therefore, suggests that apart from the Udas, there must have been a different class of householders, probably of high status from which the monks used to be recruited. Between these, there could not have been any difference except the limits imposed by monastic rules. With the growing abandonment of the vow of celibacy, these also must have disappeared; and in all probability the former householder class has been amalgamated with the Bandyas. From the argument of Chattopadhyay, two basic points emerge: that there was in the remote time a

40. Vasu, N. - Modern Buddhism - Introduction, pp.19-20.

householder class which has now merged itself with the Vanras and that the Udas were the earlier immigrants who were unaccompanied by their women folk and got mixed up in blood. Both these contentions of Chattopadhyay do not seem to be substantiated at least by the present conditions obtaining in the Valley. If there would have been a separate householder class, apart from the Udas, from which Buddhist monks used to be recruited, there would have been not doubt amalgamation of this class with the monks, after the lapse of the vow. Such an amalgamation would have resulted in the two types of residences now owned by the Vanras - one, the monastic type now called the Bahals and the other, non-monastic type to represent the ancestral homes of the former non-Udas householder class. Looking to the present residential condition of the Vanras and Udas, we find that the former mostly live inside the Bahals. The few Vanras who have their residences outside the Bahal claim that their ancestral residences lay inside the Bahals. Some extraneous circumstances had, however, made them to move out. But once in a year they are reported to go to worship their Agamas in the Bahals which had respectively belonged to them once upon a time. If we accept this fact we have to take it for granted that the Vanras had always been living in the Bahals. This is the situation which cannot be explained by the hypothesis

put forward by Chattopadhyay. Apart from such residential consideration we know that every Vanra boy has to undergo the initiation ceremony of Bare-Chhwi which preserves in itself the old memory of the Vanras being ascetics. The current festival of feeding and honouring the Vanras also speaks against the former existence of a non-Udas householder class. In this festival, it is the members of the Udas caste who have to mainly play the host, representing the householder class. When these facts are taken into consideration together with the current practice of calling the Udas as Upasak or householder class, we are led to conclude that probably the present Vanra section is not the result of the amalgamation ~~with~~ the former householder class with the degraded monks. The Udas may, therefore, be regarded as the former householder class.

The Udas do not eat food cooked by the Jyapoos while the latter eat food cooked by the former.

III. UPPER LOWER CASTE:

Next to Udas ranks the Jyapoo which, however, claims a higher status than the former. The term Jyapoo is compounded of two terms: 'Jya' which means work and 'poo' meaning a kind of paddy known as Tauli paddy. It is said that in former times only tauli paddy used to be cultivated. The term Jyapoo now

is applied to a large section of Newars who constitute the predominant population of the Valley. They are seldom found outside the Valley of Nepal. They are also known by such appellation as Kisan and Moharjan. This caste is regarded as the upper caste Shudras from whose hand the castes ranking above them do not accept cooked food. In the historical list of castes drawn up by King Jayasthi Malla, we have noted that this caste is mentioned as Shudra consisting of two main divisions: (1)Jyapoo, with 32 sub-divisions and (2)Kumhal with four sub-divisions. At present the Jyapoos are most numerous. Though the caste-wise population of the Valley is not available, it may be fairly estimated that the Jyapoos comprise the largest section of the Newar population. Though ceremonially this caste is looked down upon as Shudra, it is the main source from which the new sub-castes of Shresthas are recruited. A jyapoo, when he is rich, assumes the title of Shrestha; he marries into some poor Shrestha family; and after the lapse of certain period of time, his family and descendants emerge as pure Shresthas. The origin of the Mathema sub-caste among the Shrestha is reported to have such an origin.

The Jyapoo people are at present split into Sat-Sudra and Asat-Sudra. The Sat-Sudras refer to the Hindu Jyapoos of

Bhaktapur, while the Asat-Sudra includes all the Buddhist Jyapoos. The former is also known as Swa. The Sat-Sudra Jyapoos of Bhaktapur refuse to interdine and intermarry with the Jyapoos of other regions, the reason being that the Buddhamargi Jyapoos eat food cooked by the Vanras in addition to their profession as palanquin-bearers. In addition, the Jyappos have at present among them the following sub-divisions: (1) Suwal, (2) Kumhal, (3) Dungol and (4) Gua or Gual or Hale, and (5) Pihl or Pahee. The Suwal as already stated is found in Bhaktapur area; the Kumhal is scattered all over the Valley. The latter is again divided into two groups viz., one which makes red earthen wares and the other, black earthen wares.

The term Dungal is principally applied to the Jyapoos of Patan region. These people are also called by the alternative term Maharjan. The Gualas is found principally in Thankot, Boshan, Macche gaon, Mata Tirtha, Kirtipur, Chaubar and Patan towards the south. In Kathmandu they are known by the appellation of Hale. The Hale is divided into two groups - Sa-pu (cow milker) and Me-pu (buffalo milker). It is interesting to note that their chief concentration is in Thankot which figures so much in the traditional history of the Valley, as the capital

of the ancient cow-herd people. The other regions lie in close proximity to Thankot. The Pihi or Pahee is also known as Pahari. They have disappeared from the Valley of Kathmandu, and said to be in good numbers in the Southern hills in Boshan and Chalikhel. Although Hodgson states that this sub-caste claims to be the original Jyapoo,⁴¹ it is at present regarded to be inferior and the other sections of Jyapoos do not eat Thalthale meat (Tah-Khala in Newari) touched by them.

All the sub-divisions of Jyapoo intermarry and interdine with one another subject to earlier remarks in respect of the Bhatgaon Jyapoos. Further it may be noted that on enquiry, several Jyapoos of Panga informed the writer that they do not intermarry or interdine with their Kumhal section which makes black earthen-ware, though the maker of red earthen-wares is not regarded as inferior.

Hodgson had noted in his time numerous sub-divisions among the Jyapoos according to the hereditary occupations. It will be useful to enumerate them here. He first divided the Jyapoos into (i) Bheen-Dhungo, (ii) Dhungo and (iii) Dungoo. He ascribes the origin of these divisions to intercrossing among Vaishya, Vanras and Shrestha respectively. These

41. J.A.S.B., Vol. IXX, 1923, p. 543.

divisions are as follows:⁴²

Among the Bheen-Dhungo, Hodgson included:

(i) Okoo Kumhal: Potter to Matsyendra Nath and Jata-dhari; and (ii) Jewanl: This is wrongly spelt. It should be Jyamee which means field labourer. The Dhungo group is mentioned to have the following sub-divisions: (i) Mulmi or Moot: They are said to have come from Kamrup with Matsyendra Nath. Their hereditary occupation was to bring wild flowers for Matsyendra Nath; (ii) Dungo: Measurers or corn fields cultivators and brick layers; and (iii) Kumhal: (a) Red earthen-ware manufacturers and (b) black earthen-ware manufacturers.

The Dungoo sub-caste was split into:

(i) Duli: Foot soldiers (infantry) and potters; (ii) Younguar: Repairers of the wheels of the car carrying Machhendra Nath; (iii) Ghoku: Who used to burn the dead and who applied the brake to the wheel of the Matsyendra Nath's car; (iv) Moosaka: They carried lights before the deities and they were also farmers; (v) Cheo: Porters and cultivators, grooms, sprinklers of liquor on the deity,* (vi) Awal: Brick layers and tile makers; (vii) Gonta: Those who burnt the corpse of the Vanras, Udas and Jyapoos; (viii) Boshi or Pami Pihl: Sellers of wild flowers; (ix) Soa: Cooks to Matsyendra Nath.

42. Quoted by S.K.Chattopadhyay - J.A.S.B., Vol.IXX, 1923, Appendix, pp. 537-547.

It may be mentioned here that now-a-days the above terms merely indicate certain types of hereditary callings. Most of such hereditary occupations are associated with Matsyandra Nath. In such functional capacities the Jyapoo of Patan are still known. But they remain a Jyapoo all the time from all points of view.

IV. LOWER CASTES:

The Jyapoo caste is followed by a group of parallel castes all of which may be regarded as standing on the same social plane. Each of these castes is a different world by itself as marked by endogamy and restriction on interdining. They, however, smoke from the common hugga but using their own respective Nalis (pipes). All of these castes can accept cooked rice from the hands of the castes upto Jyapoo and a progeny born of their woman by union with a man of the caste superior to them is accepted into their respective caste-folds, including the mother of the child. Hodgson had termed all these parallel castes as Ektharia and included 17 caste-groups under it.⁴³ The present writer's enquiry, however, reveals only ~~only~~ seven caste-groups of such parallel standing. These include the Gathu, the Nau, the Khoosa, the Chitrakar, the Cheepa, the Manandhar and the Kow. The rest of the caste-groups of Hodgson's list have partly disappeared and partly come to occupy different ranks in the social hierarchy. The

43. Ibid, p. 540.

Poolpool, the Koon and the Gung-Kurme, the Tatee, the Moosa, the Bow are not known in the Valley of Kathmandu. On the other hand the Duniya (Dooyu or Laemo or Putwar of Hodgson), the Bha or Bhat rank lower, while the Goa, as already seen, is on equal status with the Jyapoo.

Of the present such parallel castes, the Gathu derives its name from its hereditary occupation ^{as} of gardener and flower-supplier. It is also known by the appellation of Mali. Members of this caste are to be mostly found in the town of Kathmandu at Kalimati, Te-Bahal, Bhyaka-cha tole and Wotoo tole; they are comparatively few in number in the Patan and Bhatgaon areas. Even to this day their principal occupation is to deal in flowers. In caste-rank they claim a position on equality with the Jyapoo, though the latter does not recognise it. Ritually they are associated with the festival of Bhadrakali as described in the chapter on Religion and Festival.

The Nau or Napit is the barber caste and an indispensable functionary in relation to the castes upto the Jyapoo. The ritual of Lusithike-gu, the ritual cutting of the nails and the colouring of the toes of the females is performed by this caste. The Nau still preserve the memory of having migrated from the Madhya-desha (north India) in the early past. They claim for themselves a higher social

rank than the rest of parallel castes on the ground that they do not attend to the ritual-cutting of the nails of these castes. Though Hodgson has stated ^{that} the Nau employed the Brahmin priest,⁴⁴ now-a-days they are Buddhamargi and are served by the Gubhaju priest. They enjoy a higher secular status than the Indian barber which is to be found in the Valley.

Another caste of the Ektharia status is the Khoosa. This term is an abbreviated form of Khoosal. An important function of this caste is to render priestly services to the Kasai caste. Hodgson had noted four more sub-divisions under the term Khoosa.⁴⁵ Of these, the Kuta (navel-pipe cutter) is little known, now; the Teepah or Teppye as is called at present are few in numbers and they sell 'palung' (a kind of leaf-vegetable) on the Magh Sankranti; the Gnai-Gubha has totally disappeared; and the Bala is perhaps the present Balami who, however, takes a lower rank on par with the Duniya.

The Chitrakar is the painter-caste among the Newars. Beside the work of painting the figures of Bhairava and other religious objects, they also paint the walls. They are said

44. Ibid, p. 540.

45. Ibid, p. 541.

to be descended from an Udas mother and a lower caste father. They are known by the appellation of Pu(n) and are in the process of extinction. Their number is more in Bhaktapur than elsewhere. The important community-function which they fulfil is to repaint the masks of gods and goddesses during the annual festivals. Their declining hereditary occupation is driving them to take to any type of occupation which would afford them some livelihood.

The Cheepa are numerous in the town of Kathmandu. The term Cheepa is derived from the occupation of printing the cloth called, Cheepa. This caste is also known as Ranjitkar which means dyer of cloth. Hodgson describes this caste as the dyer of blue cloth as distinct from the Bha caste, dyer of red cloth. Now-a-days, however, they do not restrict themselves to dyeing in blue only. They are also engaged in a variety of occupations as doctors, government servants, shopkeepers and agriculturists. As regards caste-organisation the Chheepa is said to have formerly their Nayak (chief) who used to settle disputes among them. They have now formed a Chhipa^{ee} Sangh, an association to effect reforms in their community. They are a well organised community. Their priest is Vanra and declare themselves to Buddhists.

The Manandhar or Salmi or Saimi are the former oil-pressurers of the Valley. The people of this caste are numerous in the regions of Kathmandu, Kirtipur and Bhaktapur. In the first mentioned region their original location are to be found round about the palaces of the former Newar Raja. Their caste-name is derived from their hereditary calling of oil-pressing. 'Sal' means oil-pressing machine and 'mi' means owner. In each of their localities they had a 'Sal' which used to be run on a co-operative basis and these 'Sals' though now in disuse, can still be found at many places.

It is alleged that formerly the Manandhar or Salmi was not a clean caste and hence water could not be accepted from their hands. But in the days of Jung Bahadur, the Salmis were raised to the rank of clean caste as a reward to their assistance in the Nepalese expedition into Tebet in 1558.⁴⁶ The Manandhars, however, deny that they were formerly an outcaste. According to them once a small boy in Bhatgaon accidentally got crushed in the 'Sal' without the knowledge of any one. As a result of this the families concerned were outcasted for having sold the oil mixed with human blood. The Manandhars contend that, apart from this solitary instance, they had always been a clean caste throughout. At present in

46. Census of India, 1911, Vol. V-Bengal, Behar and Orissa and Sikkim, Part I - Report, p. 457.

the region of Kathmandu and Kirtipur they are not only treated as a clean caste, but they also enjoy a higher secular status among the parallel castes owing to their being wealthy and educated. In the region of Bhatgaon, however, the high caste Newars still refuse to accept water from their hands for religious use, it is stated.

The Manandhars are generally darker in complexion, have heavy and drooping moustache, and are shorter of stature. Their own tradition says that they migrated into the Valley from the plains of India. In keeping with such a tradition of migration, their physical characteristics are quite suggestive of their affinity with the lower castes of Hindustan.

The Manandhars are the most politically organised people in the Valley. It has a caste council whose head is called Kaji. The caste-council is divided into regional sub-councils, each headed by its own Kaji. Each regional Kaji used to be also the head of the 'Sal' administration of his region. For example in Kathmandu the following are the sub-councils with their respective Kajis. (i) Gucche-Mangal Dachche Sal; (ii) Layeku-Sal; (iii) Nhu-sal; (iv) Pako-Pokhae dyang; (v) Wotoo Tole; (vi) Tan-Lachhi; (vii) Thahiti Sal; (viii) Chaswanda and (ix) Phalacha Sal. These Kajis have also under their jurisdiction the regions of Kirtipur, Ferpring, Fascu and Panch-mane. The regions of Patan and

Bhaktapur have their separate organisation. There are two different traditions with regard to the rule of succession to these offices. In some of the cases, the eldest son inherits the Kajiship, while in others the succession devolves on the members, on the basis of seniority in age. The council also appoints an advisor to each of the sub-councils from among the members. All disputes, social and caste, are settled by the Kendriya-Manandhar committee, whose head acts as ^{the} chief Kaji.

Owing to their being economically better off, the Manandhars are the only people with whom the high caste Newars such as the Chhatharia and Shresthas have to face serious competition in service as well as business.

In religion, though they are Buddhists and employ a Gubhaju as priest, they are most strongly under the influence of Hinduism. They worship Hindu Gods and Goddesses. Many a number of Manandhar men and women informed the writer that they had visited the places of Hindu pilgrimage in India, such as Kashi, Prayag, Gaya, Badrinath, Dwarka and Jagannath. Satya Narain Puja has become a popular feature among them for which they employ either ^aDeo-Bhaju or ^athe Tirhut Brahmins.

V. UNCLEAN CASTES:

There are two groups of unclean castes among the Newars. Firstly, those whose touch is not polluting but from whose hands water can not be accepted. These include: Duniya, Balami, Sangat, Bha, Kasai and Kusle. Secondly, those even whose touch imparts pollution. They are: Pore, Kullu, Chyame and Hara-Huru, ^{which are included in the sixth category.} There is, however, no caste which pollutes at a distance. If any person of the latter caste groups happens to touch a member of clean caste, he has to undergo a purificatory rite for regaining his cleanly status. Such a rite consists in sprinkling over the person water in which a piece of gold has been dipped. Besides, having sexual inter-course with a woman of the first group does not result in the loss of caste; but if a person of clean caste has sexual intercourse with a woman of the latter group i.e. untouchable, he permanently loses his caste to that of the woman.

Of these unclean castes, the Duniya, the Balami and the Sangat occupy the highest rank among the unclean caste. They are endogamous and do not inter-dine with another. The Duniya ^{are} is found in the southern extremity of the Valley and show a preference for higher elevation. Their settlements are found at Hole-Chouk, Balaji and Bhim Dunga. They are few in number and their households ^{number} may be about seventy to eighty.

These people are known by several appellations such as Putwar, Rajputwar, Dwi(n) or Dhwi(n).

The physical features of the Duniya set them apart from the other Newars. They are comparatively shorter in stature and darker in complexion. Their noses are short with swollen nostrills. Their women-folk are the shortest among the Newari women. While speaking, they substitute 'r' for 'l' and this marks them off from the other Newars. As for instance, they would say 'Wara' instead of 'Wala' and 'Jura' instead of 'Jala'.

Culturally there is a wide gulf between the Duniyas and the other Newars. The Duniyas are in the lower state of culture. They mostly live on jungle produce. It is said that they had not taken to agriculture till quite recently. Even to this day they earn their livelihood as workers in stone-quarries and by selling wood and red-soil. A very strange habit among these people is that their women-folk never take rest ~~for~~ even ^{for} a day after the delivery of the baby and go about for usual work.

The Duniyas have no tradition of migration and appear to be the fore-runner of the culture which we call as the Newar culture. Though their physical features bear the stamp of

mongoloid characteristics, the whole complex of physical traits suggest a glimpse of Munda characteristics. Their houses also suggest some thing in this direction. A Duniya dwelling place is so dissimilar to those of the other Newars, consisting only of ground-floor with 'Varandah' and with thatched rooms. The whole house-structure bears a close resemblance to the houses of the lower castes in the villages of Behar.

The Duniyas were said to be an untouchable caste before the advent of Prithivi Narayan Shah. In 1769 when Prithivi Narain Shah was forced to retreat by the Newar army, it was the Duniya people who helped him to escape from the Valley through the south-western extremity. After the conquest of the Valley, the Gorkha prince is said to have rewarded the Duniyas by raising them to the status of a touchable caste and giving them a privilege of being the royal palki bearers, a privilege which they enjoy even to this day. It was also the occasion for their designation as Putwar or Rajputwar.

With regard to religion, Hodgson described the Duniyas both as Buddhist and Hindu and it is said that their priest used to be a Vanra, while they received Diksha from a Brahmin. According to Sete, a Duniya from Halchouk, they used to employ the Deo-Bhaju as priest. Later when they were ^{fell}

on evil days, the Brahmin gave up executing priestly functions to them. Now-a-days the priestly functions are discharged by the sister's son and some times, by the Kusle.

The principal gods of the Duniya are Akash Bhairava and Rikhashwar and not the Buddhist deities. The identification of Akash Bhairava with a Rakshasa prince who fought in the battle of Mahabharat and the Duniya's appellation of this god as Sava Deya or Bhaila suggest not only a great antiquity of the Duniyas but also an affinity with the darker race of India as pointed out earlier. Again the Duniya identify the Akash Bhairava with Eklabya prince.

Some of the ceremonies which mark off the Newars from the others are not followed by the Duniyas. For example, the ceremonies of Yihee, Bara and Burha-Junko are not observed by them. On the other hand in marriage, the bride's mother has to be paid Rs.2/- as the price of her milk.

Tribal life is still the basis of the Duniya organisation and their chief, the Nayak is the leader of each of the patrilineal groups into which their society is split.

Like, the Duniya, the Balami is another group which occupies the lowest rung of the Newari cultural ladder. And like the former, the latter also stands out as a distinct

community. The Balami occupies the foothills and is especially to be found at Kagategaon at Balaji. These people came to be formerly a Kshatriya caste. They are said to have lost their former status through the displeasure of some Newar King who relieved them of their sacred thread. At present they are also known by the appellation of Swa(n)-gami. Their sufficiently high bridged-nose with a tendency of being convex and the oval face go against their mongoloid racial origin. The local Newars assert that the Newari language spoken by the Balami and the Duniya is somewhat different from the current Newari. These two sub-ethnic groups, along with the Pahari which have totally disappeared from the Valley suggests a substratum over which the present racial and cultural super-structure of the Newars has been built up.

Another social group which is treated on par with the Duniya and Balami is the Sanga.⁽ⁿ⁾ It is an abbreviated form of the term Sangat, the former washerman caste in the Valley. The people of this caste is fast disappearing and they no more follow their former occupation. The writer was told that there are only a few families left now. With the advent of the Indian Dhobi caste, they have taken to agriculture. They are, however, endogamous and do not have any social intercourse with the Indian Dhobi. Their tradition asserts that King Pratap Malla took a Sanga(n) woman as a concubine and since then they were

raised to a pure caste. The writer was, however, unable to come across any high caste Newar who could admit that water could be accepted from their hands.

The Bha is in the process of extinction. They are found only in Bhatgaon. Hodgson describes this caste as the dyers of cloth with red colour and accepters of death gifts on the eleventh day.⁴⁷ On enquiry it was reported that only a few persons of this caste are found in Bhatgaon town, who are still reported to accept eleventh-day death-gifts from the Shresthas only. Barring this solitary instance of Bhaktapur or Bhatgaon, they are hardly to be found any where else in the Valley. It may be remarked here that such a gift is now-a-days accepted by the Kusle caste only. The occupation of dyeing is no longer followed by them.

In the historical list of Jayasthi Malla, as given by Hodgson, the caste mentioned as the receiver of the death gift on the eleventh day is ^{Bha or} Mahabrahmin.⁴⁸ This goes to suggest that the Present Bha or Bhat may be the same as Maha-brahmins.

47. Ibid, p. 540.

48. Ibid, p. 556.

The name Kasai is derived from the occupation of buffalo-slaughtering and selling of meat. In olden days this caste was known as Khadgi or Swordsmen. In the Bhaktapur region it is known as Nya. The Kasai claims to have descended from the Shahi Thakuri, a clan to which the present Kshatriya royal family of Nepal belongs. The story of their origin as related by one of its members runs as follows: While on his way to the Valley of Kathmandu, Harisingha Deo carried goddess Talleju, his Kul-deity, with him. On the way, the members of the Harisingha Deo's party could not get anything to eat. So the prince invoked Talleju. The Goddess appeared before Hari Singha Deo in his dream and told him that he and his men could eat any animal which they came across first next morning. The first animal to be sighted was a wild buffalo. The buffalo was brought before the goddess for sacrifice. The latter ordered to bring a man who would be found excreting with his back towards the sun. A person was found accordingly and was discovered to be of the Chhetri caste. This person became the first Kasai.

The Kasais are numerous especially in the town of Kathmandu. They are perhaps the third major group after the Jyapooos and the Shresthas. In every town in the Valley, they have their separate toles situated just on the outer-ring of what was once the ancient boundry of the town. Besides their

hereditary profession as killers of buffaloes and sellers of meat, they have taken to milk-vending which, of course was not allowed to them under the former caste rules. The milk which is purposely adulterated with water, with a view to claiming that the high caste Hindus thereby take water from them, is freely consumed by the Newars and even by the orthodox Gorkhas.

Though they are given the rank lower than the Bha, they claim to be socially higher than the latter. Not only this, they refuse to accept cooked rice from the parallel castes under category of IV, whom they render the ritual service of Lusi-Thike-gu. They have, however, no objection to accept cooked rice from the hands of the Jyapoo caste and above it. The Lusi-Thike-gu ritual is provided to them by their own castemen.

The Kasais are divided into two groups on the basis of their hereditary callings. These are Kasai and Bagur-Kasai. The latter derives its name from their being goat-killers and vendors of its meat. But there is no restriction on inter-marriage and interdining between these two sections. They together constitute a single unit. In relation to the castes lower to them they are strictly endogamous, but they accept into their caste any person from the higher caste.

The Kusle is called also Jugi or Jogi and are said to be descended from the ascetics of Natha sect. They are also known as Darshandhari. This caste is divided into many sections on the basis of the type of the musical instruments. But from the point of view of marriage, ceremonies and interdining both of these sections act as a single endogamous group. Their priestly connections with many of the temples of local deities indicate their one time high social position. They have their own caste-priest who not only attends to them but also to some of the other untouchable castes. They regard Gorakhnath as their principal deity.

VI. UNTOUCHABLE CASTES:

The foregoing unclean castes are followed in order by the Kullu (cobbler), Pore (executioner), Chyam-khala and Hara-Huru who are the Newar outcastes. These castes are not allowed to have their dwelling places within the village boundry. The Kullu are the Newar cobblers and basket makers and are considered to impart pollution by touch. They employ their own Thakali as priest. Formerly they were not allowed to wear golden ornaments. But now-a-days there is not much insistence on such traditional norms.

The term 'Pore' derives from the hereditary calling as public executioners. They also use the clothes of dead people. Their principal occupation is fishing and basket-making.

The Chyamkhalas are the removers of night soil and considered lowest among the untouchables. They consider themselves superior to the Parbatia untouchable castes such as the Kami (ironsmith), the Sarki (cobbler), the Damai (tailor). The Chyamkhala, therefore, does not accept cooked food from these castes. They have a section lower in rank, which is said to be the result of the union between a Chyamkhala and other untouchable caste like the Pore. This section is known as Hara Huru.

From the above description of the Newar castes some significant features are revealed; firstly, that the several groups which had been once different castes have come to be amalgamated as sub-castes, the higher caste amalgamating itself with the lower one. Secondly, even within the same caste, the tendency is towards fusion rather than towards fissure, resulting in broader divisions as against the innumerable sub-castes. The causes for these appear to be two. Firstly, the scarcity of women within a single caste group and secondly, the Newar rule of relegating the child of a hypergamous marriage to the caste

of its mother. Thus scarcity of women within the caste always poses a problem. It can be solved either by taking a wife from the caste above or below.

The only higher social group which could have provided wives to the top-most Newar castes is the Gorkha. But this was not only not possible in the past since the Gorkhas had secured prevention of the movement of their women into the Newar community under the protection of the law but also the Newars would not socially admit such women. The higher caste Newars were left, therefore, only with one alternative, i.e. to take wives from the caste below them. In such a situation the second rule comes into operation. Under the rule, the mixed progeny is relegated to the caste of the mother. With this process even now the castes experiencing scarcity of women among themselves slowly get depleted and may vanish altogether - a process which is already seen among the Malla and other Shrestha Newars. It is this process which is also threatening the Deo-Bhaju Brahmins. So far as the disappearance of sub-divisions within the same caste is concerned, they are bound to be so, when the occupations they follow are abandoned. As against this tendency towards amalgamation of the Newar castes, the Gorkhas appear to have an opposite tendency. In their case each hypergamous union gives rise to a progeny which takes the status intermediate

between the two parents. In such cases, the child assumes the patronymic title of its father and is called a Khatri. After three generation, it ^{assumes} ~~becomes~~ ^{the} a pure caste of the father.

Despite the above stated rule of caste determination among the Newars, a few exceptions have come to light when the mixed progeny, after the fashion of the Gorkhas, take the rank of its father. This is especially happening with regard to the Shresthas. Such a progeny is prefixed with Baga (half) to denote its status. With the rise in economic status it becomes successful in marrying a woman ~~of~~ ^{from} the caste of ^{its} ~~their~~ fathers and slowly come to become a separate sub-caste. But it can not be said that hypergamy is a characteristic feature of the Newars. Making ^{due} allowance for the morganatic unions, which would be welcomed by the caste members of the woman's parents, hypergamy is practised only by the sub-castes of the Vanra caste.

Newar Castes in Relation to Broader Hindu Society:

While the Newars have their own internal organisation of caste, they are also a part of the broader Hindu society of Nepal, in which they have a definite place. To understand this it is, therefore, imperative that we also discuss them in their wider perspective. For such purpose we may restrict

ourselves to the Valley of Nepal which may be taken to represent the broader Hindu society in that country.

At the outset let us first proceed to deal briefly ~~in~~ ^{general} with the various caste groups in Nepal in order to enable us to evaluate the status-distance of the Newars in comparison to the Gorkhas. Broadly speaking, we may classify the caste-groups of Nepal into three distinct categories: the Parbatia, the tribal and the Newar. The Parbatia castes include Brahmin, Kshatriya and untouchable castes such as the Damai, the Kami and the Sarki; and the tribal castes include the Magar, the Gurung, the Rai, the Limbu, the Murmi, the Sunwar, the Tharu and the other tribes. Of such tribal castes the Magar and Gurung are accepted under the Parbatia caste since they are Hinduised communities and employ the Parbatia Brahmins as priests. All these castes occupy their respective social position in the Hindu society of Nepal.

The Parbatia Brahmin and Kshatriya castes are split into several sub-castes each of which has definite social precedence. Similarly the other Parbatia castes are sub-divided into sub-castes and each has a definite social precedence. The social hierarchy, if only the Parbatia castes are considered is as follows in the descending order:

I.	Brahmin	:	Upadhya ↓ Kumai ↓ Jaisi ↓
II.	Kshatriya	:	Thakuri-Shah-Rana ↓ Chhetri or Khas ↓ Khatri ↓
III.	Double Order	:	Magar ↓ Gurung ↓
IV.	Vaishya	:	Nil ↓
V.	Untouchables	:	Damai (tailor) ↓ Kami (blacksmith) ↓ Sarki (Shoemaker) ↓ Bhujel (Former slaves)

The Parbatia caste society is conspicuous by the absence of the Vaishya caste. Further it includes Magar and Gurung as the double order, above the Vaishya. Each of these groups is a distinct community and does not interdine with one another. The Parbatia give their daughter in marriage to Kumai, but do not accept one from the latter. After the marriage of a Upadhya Brahmin girl with the Kumai, she is not socially accepted in her parental community. Both the Upadhya and Kumai Brahmins do not interdine and intermarry

with the Jaisis who are regarded inferior owing to the belief that they are the progeny of the Brahmin widows. None of these Nepalese Brahmins would intermarry or interdine with the Indian Brahmins whom the former regard as low. The Indian Brahmins similarly regard the Nepalese Brahmins to be inferior since they eat non-vegetarian food.

Among the Kshatriya group of sub-castes, the Shah, the Thakuri and Rana clans, who trace their origins to the Rajputs in Rajasthan are the highest Kshatriyas and intermarry and interdine among themselves. Below this group is the Chhetri sub-caste which is descended from the former Khasa race. It is endogamous in relation to other castes, but exogamous with regard to its own respective clans. The Khatri caste is said to be the progeny of Brahmins and Kshatriyas by union with the various lower caste women. Members of this group can become pure Chhetri after three generations, if they married in the caste higher than themselves.

Below the Kshatriya, but above the Vaishya come two mongoloid tribes, Magar and Gurung in order; the former is comparatively more Hinduised, and follows more or less the Chhetri traditions; and a mixed progeny of its woman by a Chhetri man takes the rank of Khatri(half Chhetri).The

last group is that of ^{the}untouchables which enjoy a little higher secular position than that of the Newar group of untouchable castes. Being culturally and linguistically associated with the Parbatias, it is obviously so.

When total Hindu caste system is taken into consideration, we have to include a few other castes and the tribes also, namely, the Newar group of castes and the tribes, such as the Rais, the Limbus, the Tamongs, the Bhotias and others. The following is the social precedence of castes in such ^atotal Nepalese society.

I.	Brahmin castes :	Parbatia Brahmin Deo-Bhaju (Newar Brahmin) Indian Brahmin
II.	Kshatriya :	Parbatia Kshatriya Parbatia Khatri
III.	Double order :	Magar-Gurung
IV.	Vaishya :	High Caste Newars
V.	Sudra :	Limbu - Rai Shudra Newar (Untouchable excluded) Sunwar Murni Tharu
VI.	Untouchable :	Parbatia Untouchables Newar Untouchables.

None of the Newar castes is accorded the rank of Kshatriya in the total hierarchy, although their history and culture clearly show that some of them were once to be so. Viewed as a part of the Parbatia dominated society, they are all regarded as Shudra, except the Deo-Bhaju. From the secular point of view, however, the upper caste Newars are treated as Vaishyas. But here again the confusion arises. The Brahminic Vaishya caste of Indian origin such as the Marwaris and Agrawals definitely enjoys a higher secular and ritual position, and employs Parbatia Brahmins as priests. But taken as a political group the Newars are definitely rated higher as against the Indian castes.

In the above social scheme the problem arises with regard to the status of Shudra Newars and downward. Each caste group has its own scale of value and regards ^{the} other as inferior. This difficulty becomes much more sharpened when we come to the relative status-evaluation as between the Parbatia and the Newar untouchables. Between these there is no social intercourse. None of them eat food cooked by the other or intermarry^{ies}. By their association with the Gorkhas, the Parbatia untouchable castes always consider themselves as superior. Each of the untouchable castes again is a distinct world by itself and has its own scale of value, while judging the social status of the rest and is conscious of its status-superiority. An example of

this was provided recently in the Valley. The untouchable castes in the Valley had agitated for their admission to the temple of Pashupati, which was stubbornly opposed by the Maharastrian Bhatt Brahmin priests and by the high caste Nepalese. The agitation grew so strong that the State had to find out some solution. The untouchables were told that if they interdined among themselves, thus giving an example of the abolition of caste distinction among themselves, they would be admitted to the temple of Pashupati. But they refused to interdine among themselves, and therefore, the agitation easily came to an end.

Inter-Relationship of Castes within the Newar Community:

The best way to understand the inter-relationship of caste is to describe each caste in its context with the rest. Such relationship has to be viewed from the ^{two} different stand-points. Firstly, among the Newar castes themselves; and secondly, the relationship of Newar castes with the non-Newar castes.

The Deo-Bhaju Brahmin comes in ritual contact only with the Shivamargi Newars and particularly with the Chhatharia and the Shrestha sections. He is the priest and Guru (spiritual teacher) of the Hindu Newars. In all the domestic ceremonies

he has to officiate and provide ritual guidance. He rarely comes in contact with the Buddha Margis, except on secular basis. He is employed by the Buddghamargi castes to plead in the court on behalf of the latters, when there is some dispute involving caste. Now-a-days the Deo-Bhaju has begun to come in ritual contact with some of the non-orthodox Buddhist Newar castes such as the Manandhars and Jyapoos. For among these castes Satyanarain worship has become popular. For such worship, the Deo-Bhaju Brahmin willingly undertakes to officiate. Whenever the Buddhamargis require to worship such Hindu deities as are not connected with the Vanras, the Deo-Bhaju is employed. Besides his function as a domestic priest, the Deo-Bhaju Brahmin is the priest at many of the local temples. In his priestly capacity he comes in contact with the members of all castes who ever visits such temples.

As distinct from the Deo-Bhaju Brahmin, the Gubhaju or Bajracharya, Buddhamargi priestly caste, comes in wide contact with both the Buddhist and the Hindu Newars. As a family priest he is connected only with the Buddhamargis. He is also the priest in all the Buddhist temples including the famous temple of Swayambhu. Besides, being the temple-priest of ^{the} goddess Ajima he comes in ritual contact with all the Newars. In addition, there are a number of temples of the Hindu deities, where he

acts as the priest. These are the deities equally venerated by the Buddhists and the Hindus. As priests at these temples, the Gubhaju has much a wider relationship with other castes than the Deo-Bhaju Brahmin.

Apart from such contacts pertaining to priestly functions, the Gubhaju has some other ceremonial functions, to provide ^{to} for many of the Newar castes. On the thirteenth day of mourning when the Shradha ceremony takes place in the house of the Chhatharia or Shrestha Newar, it is not the Deo-Brahmin, but a Gubhaju priest who has to officiate in the function. The Gubhaju also comes in touch with all the Newar castes in his capacity as a magicio-religious practitioner. He is well noted as a spiritual physician; and the people bring their sick-children to him for treatment.

On secular basis, the Gubhaju has taken to a variety of occupations which brings him in daily contact with all the other castes. He is a teacher, shop-keeper, Government or private employee, physician, astrologer and tailor.

The Shakya Bhikkshu or Vanra who interdines and inter-marries with the Gubhaju has comparatively little ritual contact with the other Newar castes. One of the important functions provided by him is in relation to marriage. When the Kalya-Nhyake-g

ceremony takes place, a Vanra has to go to the bride's place with the silver bangle which is worn out around the bride's wrist by him. In this capacity he is connected even with the non-Buddhist Newar castes. As a priest of the temple of Machchendranath he has intimate relationship only with the Buddhamargis. On a non-ritual basis he comes in intimate contact with all the Newar castes. The principal basis of such contact is his hereditary occupation as goldsmith. In Bhaktapur and Patan towns members of this group come in contact with the local inhabitants which includes all the Newar castes in an additional capacity of a carpenter and worker in brass. Apart from these, the Vanra has taken to all kinds of secular occupations of non-hereditary character and these provide him ample opportunity to be associated with others. Socially he has the closest relationship with the Gubhaju and the Udas.

The position of Joshi and Achar are peculiar in their relationship with the other Newar castes. In their semi-Brahminic hereditary profession they have to provide certain services to the Chhatharia and the Shrestha Newars. In every domestic ceremony of these two high castes, the Joshi has to be present and perform the function of 'indicating' the auspicious time at every stage in such functions. The Achar, on the other hand, has to attend to havan and other ceremonial

duties under the guidance of Deo-Bhaju Brahmin. In relation to the castes other than the Chhatharia and the Shresthas, the Joshi does not have ceremonial function so far as the domestic ceremonies are concerned. But he is employed to draw up horoscopes by all the Newars. The Achar similarly has no religious function connected with the domestic ceremonies of the other castes. But both of them as temple-priests are associated with the local inhabitants. The former acts as hereditary priest to the Temple of Talleju (the kul-deity of the former Malla king), Pancha-mukhi-Hamman and to other minor deities of Shiva and Shakti. The Achaju is likewise the priest of many temples in the Valley, which principally include Jai-Bageshwari, Koteswar, Chhebel Ganesh, Jal Vinayak, Dakhin-Kali and Guheswari.

Although their Brahminic hereditary occupations (including that of Guru-purohit) brings both the Joshi and the Achar in ceremonial connection with all the castes, especially with the high caste Hindu Newars, socially they have the most intimate contact with the Chhatharia with whom they intermarry. In fact they have two different statuses as viewed from the two different stand-points of hereditary occupation and social mixing. Due to hereditary

occupation their ritual status is that of a Brahmin and socially they stand on par with the Chhatharia, with whom they intermarry.

As temple priests the Joshi and the Achar also come in contact with such unclean castes as the Kasai, the Pore and the Chyamkhala, since these castes are the Deo-palas in the temples where they function as priests. On a secular level they also come in contact with all the other castes in a variety of ways according to the occupations they take to. They are tradesmen, land-owners, printers, government employees and teachers.

The Chhatharia and Shrestha Newars do not have any specific ritual function in relation to other castes. They come in contact with other Newar castes in the same manner as the Rajputs in the Indian villages. They are looked up to for guidance and for the settlement of disputes. Besides many of the families of the Chhatharia and the Shrestha are associated with the local deities at the time of whose annual festival, the heads of such families must be present. For example, in the festival of Bhimsen, the Thacoju-ju must be present as the ritual leader and chief guest. In Kirtipur a Shrestha acts as the local leader and supervises the annual festivals.

As for the Udas, only a section of it in Patan, called Barhi-Karmi has ceremonial function. It is connected with the festival of Machchendranath. But the Udas has to supply a variety of brass and copper vessels to be used for the religious purposes by the Newars. As a direct participant in the ritual function of other castes, the Udas has, however, little to do. As a group of artisans and traders, it comes in an intimate contact with others, as metal-workers and cloth-dealers. It also comes in contact in its capacity as carpenter, brick and tile maker. Since the members of this caste are rarely to be found in the regions other than the Kathmandu town, their intimate contact with others is regionally concentrated in that town only. Except as the metal workers, in none of the other occupations does the Udas find himself exclusively privileged. In the avocations of carpentry, house-building, brick-making, he is competed by the Shresthas and Jyapoos. For example a substantial number of carpenters and house-builders in the Valley, as stated earlier, are drawn from the village of Panga, Patan, Nagaum and Kirtipur, who belong to Shrestha and Jyapoo castes. Even in the sphere of metal and brass-working, the Indian brass-worker-castes who are known as Vania (not Marwari) are competing with the Udas. In cloth dealing he is not only competed by the Shresthas and Indian merchant-castes such as the Marwaris, the Rauniars and the Agrawals, but by the other Newar and Parbatia castes also.

The Jyapoo caste impinges on the life of the upper caste Newars in innumerable ways. For ceremonial purposes what the barber does in India as a messenger, the Jyapoo does for them. None of the invitations sent to the relatives is regarded valid unless it is sent through a Jyapoo. On the birth of a child it is a Jyapoo who goes to the child's maternal uncle's house to convey the news. The Aji is drawn from the Jyapoo caste. In the marriage of an upper caste Newar, men of this caste have to provide services not only as dooly-bearers, but also in the capacity of the two Tebetans who head the marriage procession. At the event of a death, this caste again appears on the scene, since Kahan music has to accompany the funeral procession of the higher caste Newars. Now-a-days since the custom of providing music in the funeral procession of the upper caste Newars has become less in vogue, he is more intimately connected with regard to this particular function, with the members of his own caste. But in feasts and festivals his services are still indispensable, whether in the capacity of a musician or a servant. An important point which needs mention in this connection is the services provided by him at the time of the Dewali worship. When the procession of 'Dewali' proceeds towards the Digu-Khya, he has to carry not only worshipping material, but also the cooked items of feast which would not have been allowed to be touched by him on normal occasions*.

* Compare this practice at the Jagannath Puri temple.

Castes below the Jyapoo are not served on ceremonial occasions by the latter, although his low economic condition has led him to be employed as a casual labourer by all the castes in the Valley. Apart from his ritual functions which are too many during the domestic and social events, his contact with the other castes during the Jatras and festivals are equally many. In all the festivals he is the principal participant who has to attend to a number of non-priestly duties ranging from the work of a servant to that of drawing the car of the deities. Especially in the Machhendranath Jatra, Indra Jatra, Kumari Jatra and the Bhairava Jatra, his role assumes a many sided importance.

As a peasant, the Jyapoo has an intimate relationship not only with the Newars, but also with non-Newar castes. Being the dominant peasant class in the Valley, all the lands owned by the non-peasant classes are given to him for cultivation. His position as the dominant farmer class, therefore, brings him in close relationship with all these who are land-holders.

The Pahari section of the Jyapoo caste hardly comes in relationship with the other castes of the Valley, since they are found in the farther region of Boshan and Chali-khel near the foothill. The people of this sub-caste visit the

Valley only occasionally when they come to sell food-grains, baskets and brooms. Similar is the case with the Gwa who inhabits the southern foot-hill of the Valley. In Kathmandu, a section of this caste, the Hale is similar to the Jyapoo. Men of this group come in contact with the other Newars in the same way as the Jyapoo. Around and in Kirtipur, they have to worship, as noted elsewhere, (on the Gathe-Mangal festival day) at the tank which is believed to be the sight of the cow-stable in the ancient days. He also supplies cow's milk for religious purposes.

The Gathoo and the Khoosa come in contact with the other castes as the suppliers of flowers for worship. But this is only in the towns. In addition they take out the Bhadra-Kali dance every year; it may be also mentioned that once in six years this annual function assumes a special grandeur, and accordingly their role is also enhanced. They come in contact with other castes like the Jyapoo in their capacity as farmers. The Kumhal section of the Jyapoo is brought into relationship with the other castes as the makers and suppliers of the earthen pots.

The other Ektharia groups of castes which rank below the Jyapoo do not have such numerous ritual functions. These parallel castes come into relationship with the other

castes mostly in their secular capacity. But the Chitrakar and the Nau, who provide ceremonial functions in the domestic ceremonies stand out as an exception. The Chitrakar has to paint the walls of the houses with pictures of gods and goddesses. But now-a-days this is slowly becoming less popular. He has, however, to paint the sacred earthen vessels with the images of god Brahma for their use in the Yihee ceremony of the Newar girls. In such capacity he comes in contact with all the Newar castes whose touch does not impart pollution. The Nau (Barber), however, assumes an important role in relation to the caste upto Jyapoo. Its principal role consists in ritually purifying the individual. In such role the Nau has to attend to the 'Lusi-Thike-gu' rituals, while their women have to attend to the 'Ala-Taye-gu'. The Nau is especially required at the time of Bu-sakha (hair cutting ceremony), Kaitapuja (Bare-chhwi-gu in the case of Gubhaju, Bandra and Vanras) and Yihee when he has to fulfil important ritual functions. Now-a-days, although the Nau refuses to provide the above ritual service to a caste below the Jyapoo, he attends to all the clean castes in its secular function. To speak about Kathmandu town, the members of this caste have opened hair-cutting saloons which are visited by all the castes, including the non-Newars.

The Kow is the Newar blacksmith and hence, the farmer is mostly dependant on them for the supply of agricultural implements. Each village has generally its own Kow caste whose services are paid in terms of grains at the time of the harvest. Besides, the Kow has also to supply a number of domestic iron articles.

The Salmi or Manandhar is the traditional oil pressers and oil-suppliers. But now-a-days their oil-mills have fallen into disuse. This caste comes into contact with all the other castes as dealers of grain, oil, and ghee. Another important secular service which it provides is the selling of liquor. It does not have any ritual function in relation to individual caste. But in the Kathmandu and Bhaktapur towns people from this caste are connected with the annual festivals and Jatras. One of the chief functions this caste provides is ^{the} erection of the Linga. Its members have to cut, the pole in the jungle, bring it, and erect it. Again at the end of the Jatra they have to pull it down. On the Ghora-Jatra (Horse festival day) in Kathmandu town they have to accompany the procession of Bhadrakali deity with their traditional musical instruments. Being a business community they are wealthy. Their ceremonial low status is far more compensated for in addition to this by the high secular status as Government officials, teachers, writers and land-owners.

The Ranjit Kar or Chhipha has no ritual function in relation to other castes. But he comes in contact with others as the dyer of cloth. But as the Lakhe dancer he is connected with the entire Newar community. In this capacity, he has a variety of roles.

The Duniya caste comes into relationship with the others as the supplier of the red soil and wood. In their such role they have an intimate contact with all the inhabitants of the Valley of Kathmandu. During the Indra Jatra, they take out the Sava-Bhaku or Akash Bhairava dance as stated earlier. In addition, they come in secular contact mostly as labourers in the stone quarries, palanquins-bearers. Their women-folk exchange wild-fruits for rice. The Balami on the other hand comes in little contact and that too only as grain dealers. Therefore, it appears that there is no important function of this caste in the Newar society at present.

Among the unclean castes, the Bha does not appear to have many ritual relationships. In Kathmandu town, this caste is connected with the Shresthas from whom they receive death-gift on the eleventh day. Their former function of acting as bards in the court of the Newar Kings was an important role which they played once in the Newar society.

The Kasai is another important caste which has to provide music during the funeral procession. During the important ceremonies they again provide music when offerings are made to the evil spirits. The Kasai also supplies dried-frogs for the worship of Ajima. Another important ritual function rendered by them is the cutting of the umbilical chord and the putting of a few drops of water into the mouth of a newly born baby. In festivals men of this caste, as we know, are associated with the goddess Talleju. They also act as the Deo-pala at the famous temple of Guheshwari and is entitled to receive all the offerings made to the deity. In its non-secular role ^{this caste} ~~it~~ comes in contact with all the Newars as the killer and seller of buffalo meat and also as milk-vendor. It is strange that, although water touched by him is not accepted, milk mixed with water, is accepted from his hands. Another role fulfilled by the Kasai as a member of his caste is the transportation of bricks to the places of construction site.

The Kusle caste has to provide music during marriage and the Dewali worship. On the seventh day of mourning he accepts cooked rice in the name of the dead. As the Deo-pala in a temple, he comes in contact with other castes also. For example, the Kusle is the Deva-pala ~~in~~ the temple of Bagh-Bhairava in Kirtipur. In Panga, he is the temple-priest of

Bisendevi. He is entitled to receive the offerings made to the deity and can also touch it. In his secular role, he comes in contact with others mostly as a tailor.

The relationship of the untouchable castes with the other Newar castes is of special importance, which is perhaps rarely to be found in India. Barring the temple of Pashupati, there is absolutely no restriction on their entering the other temples. In most of the temples of Kali and other deities like Ganesh and Bhimsen, as noted elsewhere, members of these castes happen to be the Deo-palas who can freely touch the deities and take away the offerings made at the temple. In such capacities these untouchable castes enjoy comparatively quite a high status and come in contact with all the people who go to worship at these temples. Of such untouchable castes none of them has, however, any special ritual relationship with the high caste Newars. The Newar leather-worker (Kullu) assumes importance as maker of drums and baskets (Dhaki) to be used for religious purposes. As a shoe-maker his contact with the other Newars is not so significant now-a-days. The Parbatia shoe-maker (Sarki) has almost monopolised this trade. The scavenger castes, the Chyame and the Hara-Huru similarly have no ceremonial function in relation with any of the Newar castes. But they fulfil

one important community-role when on the Gathe-Mangal day they go round the streets shouting Aji ju, From the secular point of view these castes, as night-soil removers, are of special importance to the people of the towns. In the villages, however, their role is negligible. But with the Jyapoos they have a special secular connection. Since they supply the night-soil for the fields there is a contact as sellers and buyers between the Chyame and the Jyapoos.

Some of the untouchables enjoy a higher status on some particular occasion. The writer was informed that in the annual festival at Kirtipur, when a community feast takes place a member of the Pore castes has to sit at the head of the table and is ranked as the Thakali of the members participating in the feast.

In the former days each of the Newar castes functioned as an unit of the village community. All these castes had certain duties to perform during the annual festivals and other religious events. Although in towns like Kathmandu, the importance of such functions is declining, towns like Bhaktapur and Kirtipur where the impact of the alien influence is less, there is comparatively more functional interdependence among the castes. For all the roles played the usual mode of payment is in kind made annually at the harvest time or have some landed property.

Newar Castes in Relationship with the non-Newar castes:

We have so far reviewed the functional inter-relationship of the Newar castes within their own society. Now we propose to examine the nature of contact between the Newars and the non-Newars. In this respect the relationship is mostly of the secular nature. From the point of view of the Newars, all non-Newars in the Valley are outsiders. The same attitude can be found among the non-Newars too. Therefore, in the social and religious spheres they largely stand segregated. In none of the domestic ceremonies of the Newars, do these non-Newars have any role to play, except for a few exceptions when the Gorkhas are brought into some minor ritual relationship during some of the local community-events. Of such contacts, one is the role of the Kumaon Brahmin in his official capacity as the Dharmadhikari who has to adjudicate in the caste disputes of the Newars. The low caste Damai (tailor) of the Parbatia group is employed by the Newars to provide the music. On the other hand we have noticed that the Gorkhas employ Kusle musicians. Besides, these non-Newars being the members of an immigrant community, they have to always depend on the Newars for the propitiation of the local deities. Worship of Ajima, goddess of small pox, is a point in case.

In festival times, although the non-Newars are merely spectators, in one important respect the King of Nepal is ritually connected with the Newar festivals. The erection of Linga in Kathmandu is performed only when the King is present or he has been represented by his sword. On the last day of the Kumari Jatra, the King appears before the human goddess Kumari, pays his homage acknowledging her as the sovereign of the Valley, who is supposed to renew her directive to him to rule over the Valley. This is a sort of a reminder that the Gorkha king rules over the Newars through the granting of the boon by the local goddess.

Secular relationships of the Newars with the non-Newar castes and tribes in the Valley are on the other hand, of innumerable varieties. The principal basis of contact is as buyers and sellers. The Newars are the artisan castes and also shop-keepers and the non-Newars, especially the Gorkhas, are their daily customers. Such a contact becomes much more pronounced in Kathmandu where the Gorkhas, the Indians and the foreigners live interspersed with one another. The principal trading castes of Newars such as the Shrestha, the Udas, and the Manandhar are brought into close daily relationship with others as sellers and buyers of goods of every day use. There is no rivalry between the Gorkhas and the Newars in this matter.

But a keen rivalry exists between the Newars and Indian trading castes who compete with the former in business; particularly the Marwaris and Rauniars are singled out for their bitter criticism and no Newar businessman dislikes that such itinerant communities should be allowed to encroach upon their business. The Marwaris bear the brunt of Newar's dislike of the outsiders. For, the Marwaris are shrewd business men with large capital outlay with ^{whom} ~~which~~ the Newars are unable to compete owing to their small capital. In another type of business, that of copper and brass vessels, the Udas dominates. These are the articles of daily use which every household requires. The Gorkhas and other castes have to come to them, for such articles. But here again the conflict with the Indian Agrawala caste known as the Indian Tamot comes into play. The Indian Tamots import into the Valley ready made copper and brass vessels, which affects the business of the Udas.

As gold and silversmith, the Vanra comes into contact with not only ^{with} ~~the~~ Gorkhas but also with many other mongoloid tribes who come down to the Valley from the higher hills for getting gold and silver ornaments made by him. The Vanra does not face competition from any quarter. Another type of contact between the Newars, and other non-Newar castes in the Valley is due to the occupation of the former as Government officials, physicians, doctors, teachers and professors. In these fields,

the Newars face keen competition from the Brahmins, the Chhetris and the Ranas of the Gorkha community.

The other important relationship of Newars with the non-Newars relates to agriculture. In this context the relationship is that of land-owning class verses peasant class. Such relationship exists little in relation to the people other than the Gorkhas. The conquest of the Valley in 1769 resulted in the colonisation of Gorkha soldiers in large numbers. Their descendants who had acquired land in the Valley, get them cultivated by the Jyapoo. Although there are peasants from the Gorkha community, they are few in numbers. Very rarely is a Gorkha a tiller to the Newar, but more frequently, he is the owner of the land, tilled by the Jyapoo Newars which fact characterises a superior stand of a non-Newar (Gorkha) in relation to the Newar.

The low castes such as the Kow, the Chitrakar, the Ranjit-Kar, the Nau equally serve all the other inhabitants of the Valley. The Nau (barber) has to compete with the Indian barber caste which has migrated into the Valley. Of the group of castes still lower in the Newar hierarchy, the Kusle is an important functional caste which comes into invariable contact only with the Gorkhas and not with others,

on occasions like marriage. The music provided by them is regarded to be auspicious. Therefore, the Gorkhas employ them, along with their own community-musicians, the Damai (tailor caste). The Kasai does not have any secular relationship with the Gorkhas. The Gorkhas have their own meat-sellers who can be drawn from any of their castes. The other low castes of the Gorkhas - Kami (black-smith) and Sarki (shoe-makers) are important castes who serve the Newars also.

The untouchable castes, the Kullu,^{the} Pore,^{the} Chhyamkhala and^{the} Hara-Huru render services as much to the non-Newars as to the Newars. Since these are the only groups of scavenger caste in the Valley, they have to come in contact with all the inhabitants on a non-ritual basis. But during the eclipses, they receive alms and clothes not only from the Newars, but also from the other inhabitants of the Valley.

The wide net-work of secular relationship which exists between the Newars and non-Newars in the town of Kathmandu becomes very much contracted in^{the} other regions such as Bhaktapur, Patan, Kirtipur, Sankhu, and in the villages. For in these places, due to local social segregation the Newars have little opportunities to come in such intimate

relationship with the non-Newars, unless they happen to come to the town of Kathmandu to buy the articles of daily use or to sell their agricultural products. Such segregation is due to the fact that outside the town of Kathmandu, the Gorkhas generally have their settlements scattered over a large area and normally away from the Newar settlements. Even if the Gorkhas live inside the Newar settlement, they live as an isolated group. In general, their contacts are rare except on occasions, when they have to buy some articles from the Newar shop-keepers in the village. But as tillers, the Jyapoo Newar co-operates with the Gorkha, who is the land-owner and thus a steady relationship is maintained, as noted earlier. So far as the Newars who dwell in the surrounding hills outside the Valley are concerned, they often come to the town of Kathmandu to buy merchandise for their shops at home. In this relationship, the Marwaris, being the chief local dealers in wholesale cloth, are the most important people to be contacted by them. Between these visiting Newar tradesmen and the Marwaris there is no conflict of interest, but ^{it} brings about a sense of co-operation which is not ordinarily the case in relation with the local Newars.

The other groups of people apart from the Gorkhas and Indians who come in relationship with the Newar castes

include the Tamangs and the Tebetan Bhotias. Next to Newars and Gorkhas, the Tamangs are the only people who are fairly in large numbers in the Valley; the Tebetans are few. These two groups are considered by the Newars as people of lower culture and, therefore, the Newars enjoy a sense of superiority. Like the Gorkhas they look down upon these people and do not drink water touched by them. The Udas caste has intimate commercial relations with the Tebetan Bhotias - not in the Valley but in Lhasa. Most of the members of the Udas caste as stated earlier maintain their trading house in Lhasa. Some of the local Tebetan monks are looked upon as spiritual leaders by some lower caste Newars who have accepted their following. Of the Newars coming under the Tebetan religious influence, the Manandhar may particularly be noted.

The social and religious segregation which is so manifest between the two major communities - the Newars and the Gorkhas does not result in a similar segregation in the matter of connubial relationship. It is a common practice of the Gorkhas to take wives from the Newar community. Quite a large number of them in the higher economic strata are normally found to have such morganatic marriages with the Newar women, who after such alliance, give up their customs and manners to conform with the ideals of their new homes. Although in the

beginning such relationship is quite resented by the Newar parents, later on the affectionate attitude of the parents towards their daughter living with a Gorkha husband is restored.

The new trend in the political set up of the country has been responsible, since recently, for bringing about a new and closer relationship amongst^t the different communities. The emergence of the political parties since 1961 has thus given rise to a new type of solidarity between the Newars and the other communities which was not in existence before. The traditional social and religious segregation does not come in the way of such a new alliance. The memory of the Newars of their being a vanquished nation is now fading owing to these political parties; but at the same time such a party system has created a new type of rivalry, not only between the members of the different communities but also among the members of the same caste and settlement. For example in the Panga village very often the difference in political ideologies lead to fights between^{the} different groups. Again there is a serious rivalry between the people of Panga and Kirtipur. Panga being the stronghold of the Nepali Congress and Kirtipur of the Communist party, the close relationship which existed in the past between the inhabitants of these two regions is now much strained. Now-a-days people of one settlement do not go to

participate in the festivals of the other. This sort of new solidarity and rivalry is being manifested everywhere in the Valley.

Guthi Organisation:

In addition to their sub-divisions into caste and sub-castes the Newars are divided into a number of social groups called Guthi. Ordinarily the term Guthi means a trust which manages and looks after some religious property or charitable fund. The term can be applied to designate many of the trusts in India. As for example, the trust connected with the temple of Vishwanath at Banaras can be called a Guthi; the Kastur-Ba Smarak Nidhi can be also designated as a Guthi. But among the Newars, the term Guthi means more than the ordinary meaning attached to it. It is an association as well as an institution which demands certain duties from, and confers certain rights and privileges on its members. They provide the various instruments for perpetuating the norms and values of the Newari society, apart from the fact that each Guthi is designed for some specific purpose.

To start a Guthi, there must be some objective to achieve. It may be a religious purpose or a social one or both. Supposing, a person wants to start a Guthi, say for

the purpose of mutual cooperation during the agricultural season, he now sets aside some fund as his share of contribution and invites others to contribute their shares. Those who contribute become the founder-members and the membership of this newly established Guthi is inherited by the descendant families of such founder members. Let us assume that in course of time the founder members leave behind fifty families. All these families will be the ipso facto members of the Guthi and they will render mutual co-operation during the agricultural season. Further, they will celebrate the annual day of the Guthi and hold periodical feasts amongst them, the number of feasts to be held varying from Guthi to Guthi.

Each of the families will have its representation on the managing body of the Guthi. Such representative is called a Guthiar. The Guthiars together constitute a sort of council which is the final authority. There will be also eight senior elders in the Guthi and these form together the executive body of the Guthi. The chief among them is designated either as Naike (derived from Naik) or Thakali.

Whenever the Guthi holds its feast, the expenses involved are met out of the annual income of the Guthi. If the expenditure is more than the Guthi's income, the amount of deficit is equally distributed amongst the member families.

The present Guthis of the Newars are many, each being designed for rendering certain function to its members. As to when these Guthis were started is beyond the memory of the people. All these Guthis may be categorised into two broad sub-heads, namely, caste-Guthi and Fukee-Guthi. It is to be noted that whatever may be the purpose of these Guthis, their membership is restricted either to the caste members or to the agnates.

The main Guthi of the first type is the Sana Guthi, which is concerned with the cremation of the dead. In Kathmandu town this Guthi has come to stay as locality-grouping of a caste. Thus in every tole every caste has its own Sana Guthi. But it is not necessary that the number of Sana Guthis should coincide with the number of localities. To state more clearly the Sana Guthi is the regional grouping of the members of a caste under the collective function of the disposal of the dead. In Panga village of ten toles, there are 442 Jyapoo households and 42 Shrestha households, the former having three Sana Guthis, while the latter has one. If a person migrates to a different region, he can join the local Sana Guthi of his caste on his express desire, but this automatically means his break from his former Sana Guthi.

The Sana Guthi maintains a permanent office which is usually located at the house of the Naiki or Thakali. When some body dies among the Newars, the household-members of the deceased as stated elsewhere do not touch the corpse. The Sana Guthi is informed and it has to manage for the disposal of the corpse. Each member-household has to be represented in the funeral procession. Among the Sana Guthi families, there is a group of certain member of families who hereditarily constitute Sie-Guthi, which alone is in charge of carrying out the various stages connected with the disposal of the corpse, while the non-Sie Guthi members of the Sana Guthi have to merely participate in the funeral procession. One of the most important duties of the Sana Guthi office is to provide the special type of textile material, Deva(n).

Besides the Sana Guthi, there are a number of other Guthis whose membership is restricted to the Sana-Guthi members only. Such Guthis may be of any number. Some of the typical Guthis based on the membership restricted to Sana-Guthi caste-members as found among the Manandhars of Kathmandu are as follows:

(1) Nasa Puja Guthi: It is an institution for training in songs and caste music. Each family has to send a person to receive training in such matters. Nasa Deya,

god of dance, is worshipped. Each family has to send a representative to participate in the daily visit to Swayambhu temple during the month of Gula (Sravan); to the temples of Pithas in Ya(n)-La (winter); and to the temple of the presiding deity of the tole in Kaula. Its feast takes place thrice in a year in which attendance is compulsory for all the member families.

(ii) Ashtami Guthi: It is connected with the Ganesh of the tole. Every month on the Ashtami day (eighth day) a feast is held. Membership is not compulsory.

(iii) Chare-Guthi: It is consecrated to the worship of the Pithas. Membership is open only to Sana Guthi members; but it is purely voluntary. On the fourteenth of the half of every month, the Pithas are worshipped. Feast is held once in a month.

(iv) Bijli Guthi: Like Chare Guthi, it is connected with the worship of the Pithas and feast is held once in a year.

(v) Nisala Chhya-Guthi: It is connected with Swayambhu worship. In the middle of the month of Sravan, all the members hold a grand feast at the lawns of the Swayambhu temple.

(vi) Holi Guthi: It is meant for the purpose of celebrating the festival of Holi and feasts in that connection. Among the Manandhars it is consecrated to Jagannath and, therefore, generally a person who returns from the pilgrimage to Jagannath Puri is admitted to this Guthi.

(vii) Saju Puja: It is connected with the worship of Goddess Saraswati on the fifth of the bright half of Magh. Its membership is not compulsory.

(viii) Dashami Guthi: This Guthi is not confined to the members of one single Sana Guthi. Its membership can be granted to a casteman belonging to any Sana Guthi. It is meant for the propitiation of the goddess Ajima. Twice in a month on every tenth day, Ajima is worshipped and a feast is held.

Of the second type of Guthis, i.e. Fukee Guthis, the Dewali Guthi is the principal one, since the rest falling under this group are merely its sub-variants. As an association the Dewali group is the exogamous patrilineal group and for all practical purposes it acts as an exogamous clan. It is woven round the common worship of Dewali, a deity most respected by the Newars and about which, much has been said in the Chapters on religion and festivals. It is almost impossible for a person who is not a Fukee to be admitted

to this group. Even the married daughters are excluded from their parental Dewali. The persistent call of the Dewali Guthi is such that nobody can ignore its worship and the feast connected with it.

The members under one Dewali are referred to by one another as Fukee, a term which implies splitting from the common source. When a Newar says that such and such person is 'my fukee' it implies many things. Firstly it means that he and the person in question can not intermarry; secondly it means that their Dewali deity is one; and finally it means that the mutual rights and obligations, in matters of the domestic ceremonies between them, are the same as among the members of a family.

The period of pollution regarding birth, death and Bara to be observed by a person in relation to his fukee is same as would have been observed by a person in relation to his son or father. The Dewali group is, therefore, a cluster of a large number of joint and Nuclear families who trace their descent to a common male ancestor. In all ceremonies they act as a joint group. For it will be clear from the Chapter on ceremonies that at every stage of the social development of an individual, it is not the

father or the head of the individual family who assumes the leadership. It is the Thakali, chief of the Dewali group and his wife (Naki) who have to be the heads in these ceremonies.

The fukee members are ordered in a definite hierarchy in matters of social precedence. The determination of seniority is based on generation and age. The Thakali or Nayake as we have stated is the head of the Fukee organisation. There are seven more subordinate offices occupied by the elders among the fukees. These seven seniors are in the order of their decreasing significance Naku, Soku, Peku, Nyaku, Khuku, Nhye-ku and Chya-ku. These eight seniors are the custodians of the familial norms and values. Each of them is known as Chuti and represent on the Dewali Guthi a certain number of families who have sprung from a common point on the clan tree.

The eight senior elders are distinguished from one another by their respective social precedence at the time of the annual worship of the Dewali, when each of them is entitled to get as his share a certain part of the head of the sacrificed goat. (See page).

Although it is impossible for a person to become a fukee of some one by acquiring membership of the latter's

Dewali Guthi, it is within his right to break with the Dewali of his birth and set up of his own. But this does not mean that he adopts a new Dewali. What he actually does is to worship the same Dewali at the same Digu-Khya but separately. Thus the Lo(n)-Digu (Dewali idol of stone) remains the same. But the Loo(n)-Digu (Dewali deity of bronze) becomes different. For such purpose the idol is made and sanctified by bringing it into physical contact with the original one.

The split from the common Dewali creates a new Dewali group. Members of such splitting families retain the relationship of Fukee among themselves. But from the point of view of parental Dewali members they become Ba-Fukee and vice versa. In theory they are no longer regarded as an agnate, since there is no existence of mutual obligations in respect of birth, Bara, marriage and death. They are as good as any other sub-caste members. It is said that inter-marriage between the members of such two groups can be practised. But it is not finally ascertainable. For, many of the Shresthas from whom enquiries were made took the view that there has not been any instance of marriage with a Ba-Fukee women so long such relationship is known to exist. It may be that intermarriage takes place between the two Ba-Fukee families when people do not remember such relationship. It, therefore, goes to suggest that the

Ba-Fukee is a part of the exogamous circle but not of the same Dewali group.

The Fukee Guthi, in addition, has a number of sub-varieties, which are in fact subordinate to the Dewali Guthi. A person can become its member because he belongs to a common Dewali. Of such sub-Guthis, the following are the typical ones found among the Manandhars of Kathmandu.

(i) Bhimsen Guthi: It is connected with the worship of Bhimsen. All Fukee members can become its members. There is, however, no joint feast. Each member family holds its own feast.

(ii) Gula Paru Bhue Guthi: It is connected with the celebration of the Sravan month. Its feast is held once in a year.

(iii) Sithi Nakha Guthi: It is concerned with cleaning the well on the Sithi Nakha day. Its feast is held once in a year.

These sub-Guthis do not exhaust themselves and are to be found in varying numbers among the different castes. Some of the castes may be having some Guthis which are not to be found among others, and vice-versa.

The Guthi organisation among the Newars sets up a net-work of social relationship through which the solidarities of caste and lineage functions. It is based on the division of function. It implies grouping of certain individuals, worship of some deity and feasts. Through the feasts and worship the relationship is perpetuated.

In the rural areas such numerous Guthis are merged with their respective generic Guthis - Sana Guthi and Dewali Guthi. As for example, in the Panga village the functions performed by each of the caste sub-Guthis and Fukee Guthis, as in the case just noted earlier, are performed by the Sana Guthi and the Dewali Guthi, there being no such sub-variants of these main Guthis.

Among the Sana Guthi and the Dewali Guthi, the latter functions as the most effective instrument of perpetuating the caste's norms. For, if a person is outcasted by it, he is automatically outcasted from the Sana Guthi. Deprivation of the rights to participate in the feasts and festivals arranged by these Guthis and the denial by the Guthi members to render services to him, an individual becomes isolated from his community-world.

CHAPTER V

Social Organisation (Contd)

MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND KINSHIP

I

Among the Newars marriage is a recognised institution and every boy and girl must marry. Marriage is necessary because one must have a son to continue the family line. In a society in which the cult of ancestors is so important ^{that} the obligation to offer oblation to the dead~~s~~ makes marriage indispensable. Apart from the need for the continuance of the family line and the obligation towards one's dead ancestors, economic consideration is also a factor for marriage. This idea is specially dominant among the lower class Newars. If one were to ask them as to why one should marry, they would reply: "Because marriage means an addition to the labour force of the family". Thus marriage is interpreted both as a social and economic necessity.

Marriage is, however, not recognised as a sacrament, though it involves worship of several ~~of~~ Hindu deities. They refuse to give such a recognition on the ground that the real marriage of a Newar girl is always with God Narain through the ceremony of Yihee. A Newar woman can, therefore, in theory leave her husband as many times as she likes. In

the event of the death of her husband she does not become a widow, since her real husband, God Narain is immortal. In practice, however, no Newar would like to see his daughter leaving her husband in favour of a second one. But to dislike a thing is different from the social recognition given to it. Though religious acts are involved in the marriage, the custom of divorce, remarriage and the recognised practice of taking a wife without the accompaniment of any religious ceremony are the features which are distinct from ^{the} Hindu practices followed by others in the Valley. The significant fact to note is that the traditional sentiment in this respect still dominates. However, a man may be educated and may have come under the influence of ^{the} western civilisation, he remains traditionally a Newar. There are many families of Newars which have been living in cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi for as many years as twenty to thirty five, ^{years.} They are of high education and with good financial background. Even though, they are far away from their native place they have not given up their domestic ceremonies. Suffice it to say that the Newars are still traditional and their marriage customs do not seem to be much influenced by the orthodox Gorkhas, who are Hindus. They believe their own system to be the best one.

Since marriage is an indispensable need, every Newar father feels, it is his duty to marry his son or daughter. Bachelors and spinsters are therefore very few. Of the total 814 males and 793 females in the 223⁴ sample families, 52.83 per cent of males and 42.37 per cent of females have respectively been found to be unmarried. But among these unmarried persons, there are only 65 boys and 28 girls who are of 20 years of age or above, and who may be regarded as of marriageable age. Such boys and girls constitute respectively only 8 and 3.5 per cent of the sexwise totals of the unmarried persons. Thus it is seen that there are few persons who remain unmarried after they approach the age of 20.

T A B L E

Kathmandu Sample				Panga Sample				Total				
Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females		
Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	
Married	282	43.94	342	54.49	102	59.64	108	64.67	384	47.14	450	57.63
Un- married	361	56.06	284	45.51	69	40.35	59	35.33	430	52.83	343	42.37
Total	643	100.00	626	100.00	171	99.99	167	100.00	814	100.00	793	100.00

% - Percentage to the sex wise total.

As between the samples of Panga and the Kathmandu town, the former which may be taken to represent ^{the} two rural regions in the Valley show a greater proportion of married people. This is quite obvious looking to ^{the} comparatively lesser influence of urbanity. The other factor influencing the marriage in Panga is the importance of labour for the agricultural people.

The general view of the Newar is that the marriage should take place between sixteen and twenty. The bride should be as far as possible two or three years younger. The majority of the heads of the 224 sample-families in my collection subscribe to this view. Child-marriage is not preferred, but some special circumstances may lead to such marriages. One among such reasons is the desire of the aged parents to see their children married in their own life time, for they think that it is meritorious to die after seeing ones grand children.

Early marriages though uncommon, are not totally barred. Apart from the consideration ^{of} what has been stated above, early marriage results from the practice of arranging the marriage of several children together. We may call attention to the fact that this should, however, in no way be mistaken for the group marriage in which a group of men

marry a group of women. For each of the children the marriage partner is different. For example, if A is to be married, who is of 18 years of age, the marriages of his subsequent brothers, B, C, D, E may be held on the same day to minimise the cost of feast. In such marriages the youngest brothers of A is bound to be comparatively younger some of them being as young as ten years.

Let us now examine the data regarding the age of marriage. These relate to 257 marriages for which complete data ^{are} available in the 224 sample families. ^{Statements II-A + II-B)} Of these, 206, marriages are from the urban area of Kathmandu and the remaining 51 from the rural area of Panga. The data have been divided into four periods according to the present age of husbands. The age-at-marriage of the wives is also given side by side. This serves to show ^{the} comparative trends not only as between different age-periods, but also between the different sexes.

Of the 206 marriages from Kathmandu as many as 69.42% husbands were married when they were between the ages of 15 to 24. The highest number of marriages in this group (39.32%) had taken place when the husbands were between the ages of 15 and 18 years. The number of husbands

married below the age of 15 years come to 11.65%. These husbands number 24 and are more or less equally distributed in all the four age periods. Husbands married at the age above 24 years form 18.95%. We are therefore inclined to conclude that among the Newars the marriage of the boys generally takes place when they are above fourteen, and mostly between 15 and 24 years.

With regard to wives in these marriages, more than half their number (55.88%) were married when they were between the ages of 15 and 20 years, the largest percentage (40.78) being of those wives who were married at the ages between 15 to 18 years. Wives marrying at the age above 20 form a small percentage of 9.21%. Those marrying at the age below 15 form comparatively a higher percentage (34.09). It is nearly three times the husbands married at this age group. The majority of such wives married below the age of 15 are within the age-at-marriage group of 13 and 14. It is therefore evident that the tendency to marry the girls is when they are between 13 to 20 years, as against the boys married, between the ages of 15 to 24 years. The average age-at-marriage in respect of the husbands is 19.33 years and the corresponding age for the wives is 15.45 years.

It is seen here that the age difference between the two spouses, on average, is hardly beyond four years.

Coming to 51 marriages from Panga, the majority of husbands were married when they were above the age of 15 years. Such marriages form a percentage of 79.55, a little smaller than the corresponding figure for Kathmandu. Those married at the age below 15 is higher by 7.95 per cent when compared to Kathmandu sample. Such proportionately larger proportion of marriage at the lower age group in Panga, may be explained by the high value set on labour among the agricultural class combined with the comparatively less influence of urbanism. Every bride coming into the house means an additional labour unit. There is, however, not a single instance in the Panga sample, showing marriage at the age below 10 years.

With regard to the late marriages i.e. marriages at above the age of 21, the Panga sample shows a smaller proportion. This may be due to the reasons already stated above.

So far as the wives are concerned in Panga, the tendency seems to be to marry at the slightly earlier ages than in Kathmandu. As many as 45.08% wives in the sample were

married when they were between the ages of 15 and 20 years, but 50.96% of them were married at the age below 15. This shows rather a lowering down of the age-at-marriage of women in Panga. The average age at marriage for the male in Panga works out to 17.56 years and for females to 15.07 years.

The data regarding late marriages in both of the regions needs some explanation. They are not, however, due to education. None of these late married wives is known to have even primary education. In case of the husbands of Kathmandu, however, there are only ten husbands who have either matric or higher education; but not one husband in Panga falling under this group, has even primary education. Thus it leads us to conclude that the causes of these late marriages are problems partly sociological and partly economic. Among the well-to-do Newars, it is primarily due to the difficulty in finding a suitable mate. Such a difficulty arises from the fact that caste endogamy leaves little room for a wider field for the selection of a wife. Moreover, the tendency of regional concentration of ^{the} marriages ties adds to this difficulty. Some how or other one discovers that the family from where a suitable mate can be had is found to be related through blood; and therefore marriage

cannot take place into that family. The other reason is economic. In Panga, it is especially poverty which compells a family to postpone the marriage of his son. The writer had come across a number of youths in Panga (not included in the sample) who were above 28 years and yet not married. They explained to ~~me~~^{him} that they did not have enough money to meet the marriage expenditures.

As regards restriction on marriage, the Newars exogamy is based upon the consideration of blood relationship. A man may not marry a woman who is related to him through blood. For such prohibition they take seven generations into consideration both on the father's and mother's side. The restriction on sexual relation between closed^{the} relatives is very rigidly enforced. They taboo all sexual relations between brothers and sisters, including the parallel and cross-cousins, although many of the surrounding ethnic groups such as Tamangs, Magars, Gurungs and Bhetias practise cross cousin marriage. They not only regard it as an injury done to the community but also as a sin. The erring persons are excommunicated and from their hands no body will accept water. It is even considered a sin to see their faces. Despite such severe restrictions, cases of the deviation from the traditional norms are not lacking,

though these are rare. Two typical instances in this respect have been found by the present writer during his survey in the Valley of Kathmandu. These instances reveal to us the attitude of Newars towards incest. These at the same time point out the fact that discriminations are made between the male and female, with regard to punishment.

Mr. X is a Shrestha, wealthy and of high social distinction. He had a son and a daughter by his former wife. After the death of his first wife, Mr. X brought a second wife. One day Mr. X came to know that his daughter by former wife was pregnant. When the girl was asked to name the person by whom she was conceived she named her own brother. She further stated that she had herself persuaded him to cohabit with her. The son of Mr. X also confessed to it. Then Mr. X asked his erring son to leave the house immediately and never to show his face again. While sending him away he said, "Now we can not accept water from your hand, leave the Valley as soon as possible otherwise the law of the state will not spare you". The boy fled away from the Valley and is reported to have gone to the tarai and committed suicide. It is the belief among the Newars that a person guilty of incest never survives.

The second instance reported to the writer is again from Kathmandu. The erring parties were a widow* ~~mother~~ of about 29 or 30 years and her son of about 16 years of age. They used to sleep together on the same bed even after the son had become grown up. One day she was discovered to be pregnant. She confessed that it was due to her own son. The matter was kept a closely and guarded secret and the boy was driven away since he stood outcasted in the eyes of his Kinsmen. He was reported to have died of leprosy.

In both the above cases the guilty women were not meted out the same treatment as their counterparts. The girl in the first case was said to have been married into a good family and ^{was} ~~is~~ reported to be still living with her husband at the time of the enquiry. In both the cases abortion was resorted to.

Thus we should see that the incestuous relation is never tolerated by the society and it is regarded as a crime as well as a sin. To allow a person who is guilty of incest¹ to live in the house is believed to destroy the sanctity of the family and to enrage the Kul deity. It is, however, strange

* It was reported that the son was born to her when she was 13 or 14, which is rather an unusual case.

to note the differential treatment given to the females as against the Males.

A man cannot marry with a woman of his lineage; Nor can he marry a woman from the coll^{ate}eral lineages of his father, whose members have a ^common Dewali deity with him. So long^{as} there is common membership to the Dewali deity, the exogamous restriction is not only operative for seven generations, but it extends even far beyond that as far as one's memory can go. Even marriage in the 'Ba-fukee' family does not take place if one remembers the former common membership of the Dewali Gathi.

In the case of cognates the prohibition of seven generations has been some what relaxed, People have started marrying a woman in the third or the fourth generation, if the relationship is traced through the female links only. Thus the Jyapoos of Panga say that they have started marrying into the families of father's sister's daughter's daughters; mother's sister's daughter's daughters; and mother's brother's daughter's daughter's daughter.

This sort of laxity with regard to ^{the} relatives linked through the females is necessitated, it is said, by the comparative scarcity of brides. The 'Deo Bhajus' for instance,

as we have noted elsewhere have been forced to bypass the restriction of seven generations imposed on the cognatic side. Similar is the case with the Shrestas^b. They have also started marrying into the family of cognate in the fourth or fifth generation.

The Newar's exogamy is completed by the inclusion of a few affines^{ls}. A man must not marry with his wife's elder sister whom he approaches with respect, although all of his wife's younger sisters are his potential wives. But a man can marry his step mother's daughter by her former husband. There are two instances of such marriages drawn from the Manandhar caste in Kathmandu. Bhagwan married a woman who had a daughter by her first husband. This step daughter of Bhagwan was married to Bhagwan's son by his first wife. Similarly, after the death of Sete's mother, his father brought a second wife who had already a daughter and this daughter was married to Sete.

The gotra exogamy which is a feature of the Gorkhas, is not practised by the Newars nor do they observe any restriction on the marriage between persons having identical family names.

The Newar exogamy culturally differs from that of the Tamangs who are numerous around the Valley of Nepal and

who practise cross-cousin marriage like the other Nepalese tribes, namely, Gurungs and Magars. On the other hand it is closer to the Rais and ^{the} Limbus who dwell in the east, ^{the} Tharus to the south in the Tarai and the Khasas who are now popularly known as Chhetris. In the case of the last named tribe there is known to have existed in the past the practice of cross cousin marriage. This has come to light by the publication of one of the despatches of Gen. Bhimsen Thapa* who had given orders to stop such practice which was said to be prevalent among the Jaisi Brahmins of Panch Thapaula (in Western Nepal). He, however, appears to have made an exception in respect of five classes of Khasas, the ground for which, is not mentioned.

As regards endogamy there is only one type of restriction. That is one should not marry outside the caste. In the event of the breach of this rule the person concerned is outcasted. Being outcasted implies the forfeiture of one's right to participate in the worship of Dewali. He is further debarred from participating in the ceremonial feasts in which the 'Fukee' members take part. But this sanction comes into operation only if he has^d accepted cooked rice from ~~such~~ a wife who is lower in caste.

* Chitrajan Nepali - General Bhimsen Thapa (Nepali), p.p.206-7.

If a wife belongs to a caste higher than that of her husband, she and her children are socially recognised for all purposes. But a woman of non-Newar caste is accepted only if she happens to belong to no other caste than the Brahmin.

A Newar who wants to marry his son makes an effort to search for a suitable mate in the locality failing which, he would try in the neighbouring regions. Only after having failed to find in the neighbouring-hoods, does he proceed to search in ^{the} other areas. This local preference for marriage has resulted in the concentration of marriage-ties over a limited area. For example there are more marriage ties as between the localities of Kathmandu than Kathmandu and its neighbourhood. Similarly, there are more marriage ties between Kathmandu town and its neighbouring regions than between Kathmandu and Patan; there are more marriage ties between Kathmandu town and Patan than between the former and Bhaktapur which is situated to the eastern extremity of the Valley.

Taking ^{the} instances of the marriage-ties from Panga they too are mostly local. There also, the Newars first limit their search for a mate to the neighbouring settlements

of Kirtipur, Chaubar, Nagaum and other regions, all of which, are within a distance of fifteen minutes walk. If a suitable bride is not available in these regions, only then do they go to further regions such as Patan town and its neighbourhoods. Panga has, therefore, more marriage ties with Patan than with Kathmandu.

We have on record 134 marriages from Panga for which data regarding their territorial extension are available. Of these marriages, 56 wives were locally obtained in the Panga village itself, 65 wives are from the neighbouring settlements of Kirtipur, Bhajangal, Chaubar,^{and} Nagaum, all of which are located within a distance of half an hour's walk. Of the wives obtained from the distant regions, only four are from Kathmandu region (about three miles away from Panga), one from Banepa (outside the Valley) and the remaining from the regions of Patan and its neighbourhood. This shows that about ninety per cent marriage ties are concentrated locally.

Such territorial limitation of Newar's marriage depends on many factors, such as the concentration of one particular caste in a single region, inter-regional variation

in the cultural life of the same caste, and the difference in occupations. A typical example of caste-concentration is provided by the Udas caste. They are mostly found in the Kathmandu town and rarely, if any, in the other towns of Patan and Bhaktapur. Therefore, their marriage-ties are concentrated within the Kathmandu region itself. It begins to weaken as we move further and further from the above point. As for cultural difference, the Jyapooos of Bhaktapur show reluctance to negotiate marriage with the people of the same caste in Kathmandu. Such reluctance is due to the fact that the latter are Buddha Margi and eat boiled rice cooked by the Buddhist Vanras, whereas the former being Shivamargi Hindus do not. An additional ground for the refusal of the Jyapooos of Bhaktapur to have marriage ties with the Kathmandu Jyapooos is that the latter work as casual labourers and palanquin bearers, which the former consider as derogatory.

The important sociological fact to note in this respect is that a large concentration of marriage relations over a proportionately smaller area, inter connecting localities and neighbouring villages, is consistent with the ritual functions the married daughters have to every now and then, fulfil in the families of their birth. In

In every feast, ceremony and important festival the married daughters and their children are the indispensable persons to be invited and feasted. Besides, in the event of any functions or marriage, it is again the married daughters and their husbands who have to welcome guests and look after the management of feasting. It is again the married daughters who have to fulfil a series of ritual functions in the event of a death in the family. A smooth and efficient functioning of such a variety of roles materially depends on the close physical proximity between the married daughters and their parents. Otherwise, it would be difficult to fulfil these functions.

It may, however, be observed that such traditional preference for a wife to be locally obtained is slowly lessening at least in the case of high caste Newars whose educated sons and daughters would prefer an educated mates. Thus if it were to be a choice between a mate of nearer region who is not educated and the one from a more distant place, who is educated, the choice would, other things being equal, naturally fall on the latter.

The marriage seasons of the Newars is not different from that of other Hindu communities in the Valley. They

will, however, avoid marriage in the months of Chawla (Chaitra), Kachhala (Katrik), and Pohela (Paush). They identify the first month with horse, the second with dog and the third is believed to bring nothing. During the remaining months marriage can take place. They would, however, prefer Chilla (Falgun), Silla (Magh) and Bachalla (Baisakh).

Newari society recognise three ways of obtaining a wife. Firstly, the usual traditional marriage which involves the marriage procession, secondly, by dispensing with the ceremonies connected with the traditional form and resorting to a 'Swayam Vara', and thirdly, by eloping with the woman whom one wants to have as a wife. These three types of marriages are described below.

In the traditional marriage the initiative is always supposed to take place on the bridegroom's side. The Newar parents are not expected to bother about their daughters. To show concern about the search for a bridegroom is looked down upon by the society. Though such a traditional value still exists among them, many parents are, in fact, do feel it necessary to make the enquiry for a suitable bridegroom for their daughter.

Of course, after having settled everything informally, the bridegroom's representatives are made to fulfil the traditional obligation of making a formal approach to bride's parents. Any relative or a friend of the bride-groom's family may be entrusted with this job. The person concerned in his or her role of acting as a go between is known as 'Lamee'. When the Lamee goes to the house of the bridegroom, he is formally asked the purpose of his visit. After having known the purpose, the bride's family members make enquiries about the bridegroom's family background. When the proposal is acceptable to the bride's parents, they consult the other important members of their family. After having come to decide finally in favour of the proposal, the Lamee is offered Sagan, the traditional ritual eating items - boiled eggs, fried fish and liquor. He is then feasted. He leaves the bridegroom's house with a word that he would come again ~~back~~ with the horoscope of the boy.

After a day or two the Lamee returns with the horoscope. This time he has to face a larger circle of bridegroom's kins. The consents of the 'Fukees' and the 'Thakali' of the Dewali Guthi ^{is} are necessary, because it is with them ^{that} the responsibility of admitting the bride to the clan membership ^{rests}. These men ensure that the proposed marriage

does not go contrary to the rules which are meant for their group solidarity under their Dewali. When they satisfy themselves that the bride can be socially accepted they put their seal of final approval; only after this can the matter proceed further.

After fixing the date of marriage the preparations start. On the bride's side, the most important work which is much talked about and is taken care of, is the husking of 'Bajee' and the brewing of liquor. Several maunds of rice and jaggery are procured for the purpose. The Newars attach much importance to these home-made items of food and drinks because if these are obtained from elsewhere and not made in the house, it dampens the prestige of the family. It takes months to prepare these items. Liquor is stored in huge earthen jars known as 'Tepa-Ghyampa'. The liquor serves as the means for the manifestation of protest in case either of the parties cancels the marriage. As a retaliatory measure in such cases the huge earthen jars containing liquor are brought to the locality of the failing party. In front of his house, the liquor is spilt over on the ground, and the earthen jars are broken to pieces. By this it is implied that the party is insulted and dishonoured.

While the marriage preparations are going on, the Lamee is again sent to the bridegroom and parent's house to appoint the date of betrothal. The betrothal is called 'Gue-bi-ye-gu'. There is no time limit fixed as to when this should take place. It might take place just a couple of days earlier than the marriage. Or sometimes it is completed simply to insure for a suitable mate. In such cases marriage is, however, postponed till the betrothed persons are quite grown up. The popular practice at present, however, seems to be to hold this function just a year before marriage.

Whereas the early betrothal is a safe way to insure a mate, it has its own problems. Many times, it so happens that a betrothed boy or girl, in later age, may not like to be married to whom he or she is engaged. It may be that he or she has developed love affair with a third party. The marriage, if it takes place, then may lead to divorce. Or it may happen also in quite a different way. Before the marriage could take place, the girl may run away with her lover or the boy may kidnap a girl and live with her as husband and wife. As the practice of obtaining a wife by such means is recognised, the betrothal automatically comes to an end in such cases.

On the day of betrothal, the family of the bride sends the 'Lamee' with ten betel nuts to be presented to the parents of the boy. From the points of the two parties involved this function connotes two different meanings. On the bridegroom's side the function is termed as 'Gue Bu-Ye-gu,' the giving of the betel nuts. On the bride's side it is known as 'Gue-Kaye-gu' - the acceptance of betel nuts. Then betel nuts are sent by the bridegroom's family in a velvet bag. If the person is rich these may be sent in a silver case. Along with the betel nuts, a load of worshipping material and the ceremonial items such as vermilion box, ('Shina Mhu') and the brass mirror ('Jwdla-Nhyaka') are also sent on behalf of the bridegroom's side.

The priest from the bride's side offers puja, as in other domestic ceremonies, to Ganesh, the Sun, the Moon, the 'Ashta matrika', Bhagwati, Bhairava, Kumari, Das Diggpal, Kul-Deity of the bride's parents and also to a few evil spirits. It may be pointed out that such worship is always performed with the material brought from the bridegroom's side.

After the Puja, the father of the bride accepts the bag containing the ten betel nuts from the Lamee. Then the Thakali Naki of the bride's side applies vermilion to the

bride's forehead and presents the sets of new clothes brought from the bridegroom's side. The privilege of receiving the Gue (Betel nuts), it may be remarked, has been assigned to the father of the bride. But it is so only *then*, when there is no other elder male among the collateral families of the bride's father. Otherwise this function is fulfilled by the eldest male member among them. The traditional practice in this respect is that it should be received by the 'Thakali' of the Dewali Guthi. This traditional custom is still adhered to by the Newars of *the* Panga, although in Kathmandu town it is slowly breaking *down*.

After the 'Gue-bi-ye-gu' ceremony, the bride is regarded to have belonged to the family of her would-be husband, although her link with her parents' family has not completely been broken. After the acceptance of the betel nut, if the bride has to participate in any social or ceremonial event in her parents' home, such expenses as would involve should be borne by her would-be bridegroom's family and not by her parents. If a betrothed girl dies, her obsequies will have to be performed by her would be husband who also becomes the chief mourner. In the event of such a death, the parents of the deceased daughter do not call their Sana Guthi members, but they inform the betrothed

boy's family to take away the corpse. Thus 'Gue-bi-ye-gu' is a de jure transference of the girl from the family of her orientation to the family of her procreation.

The contract designed to unite the bride and bride-groom as signified by the 'Gue-bi-ye-gu' ceremony is finally made effective by the holding the ceremony of the ceremony of the 'Lakha-Bi-ye-gu'. This may take place a couple of days before the actual date of marriage. After this ceremony there is a regular inter-flow of social obligations between the two families, who were strangers to each other just before the 'Gue-bi-ye-gu' ritual. From time to time the bridegroom's members will send seasonal fruits to the house of the bride's family and a chain of mutual affection is maintained. It adds to the strengthening of social bonds between the two families even before the marriage.

On the day of 'Lakha-bi-ye-gu' the bridegroom's parents have to give to the parents of the bride the traditional sweatmeats known as 'Lakha Mari'.* The eldest male member of the bridegroom's group brings the Lakha

* Lakha-mari^h is ^{the} traditional sweat-meat

sweats to the brides parents' house. He is accompanied by the 'Lamee'. At this time they bring as usual a load of worshipping material. The Thakali Naki of the bride's parents' group puts a teeka of vermillion on the forehead of the bride. Sanga(n) ritual takes place and later on the bridegroom's party is feasted. They return on the same night.

The giving of 'Lakha' by the bridegroom is a necessary condition to the fixing of the date of marriage procession. When the 'Lakha' sweats are received by the bride's parents, these have to be distributed ^{among} ~~to~~ the families of close agnates and cognates. In principle each family should get one Lakha, its size and variety depending on the nearness of relationship with the family of the bride. The following relatives are generally considered as within the circle of 'Lakha' distribution', the relationship being counted taking the bride as the point of start.

1. All 'Fukee' families.
2. Father's sister's families.
3. Mother's Brother's families.
4. Mother's sister's families.

5. Father's brothers' wives' brothers' families.
6. Mother's Mother's brothers' families.
7. Father's father's mother's brother's family.
8. Mother's sisters' Daughters' families.
9. Married Sisters' families.
10. Brothers' wives' brothers' families.
11. Collateral Brothers' wives' brothers' families
(if collaterals are joint with the bride's
parents).
12. Families of cross-cousin sisters.

The distribution of Lakha may sometimes cover a much larger circle of Kinship.

Those relatives who receive 'Lakha' are regarded as within the circle of relationship among the members of which there should be constant interflow of mutual obligations. The recipient families and the bride's parents' family have therefore mutual rights and duties existing between them. On the other hand a family of cognate or affine excluded from receiving the 'Lakha' ceases to be regarded as a close relative. Even among the relatives who receive 'Lakha', there is an ordering of relationship. The size of the Lakha determines such ordering. Thus Lakha distribution, when sociologically interpreted, is a manifestation of the structure of kinship bond.

If the number of families among whom the 'Lakha' is to be distributed is large, it poses^d financial problem, since the cost would in such respect run to several hundreds of rupees. The Newars have standardised the number at 32 or 12. It is reported that in the different towns in the Valley, there are different traditions to be followed in this respect. In Kathmandu its number is fixed at 32. This is also reported to be the case in Patan. The Newar of Bhatgaon give 12 'Lakhas'. The Jyapoos of Panga have a different traditions. They give 212 Lakha sweats, of smaller size. Well to do families, however, do not mind giving as many number of Lakha Mari as the bride's family may need to distribute among its relatives. Lakha payment has a prestige value for the bridegroom's party. And it is very highly talked of by them.

There is also the tradition to pay cash in lieu of the 'Lakha' sweats. Whenever any cash is to be paid, the amount is generally calculated at the flat rate of Rs.2/- per Lakha. It is specially the fashion among the poor class families to demand such cash amount. In Panga village, as also among the poor families in Kathmandu, the bride's father usually asks for cash amount, such right always being vested with him. Even among the high caste Newars

like the Shrestha the payment of cash is preferred. As for example, in one of the cases the amount paid was rupees two hundred. Another Shrestha Newar had to pay six hundred rupees when he married a second wife. Among the Dnyas Newars, in addition to the Lakha or its cost in cash thereof, a sum of rupees five is paid to the mother of the bride and they call it payment for the mother's milk. But this payment for the mother's milk is not made by the other Newars in the Valley.

Though the payment of cash is looked down upon by the society, since it amounts to paying for wife, it has not diminished at any rate, and it is a favoured practice among the poor. There is no social sanction against it, except the moral disapproval of it.

The giving of 'Lakha' or cash payment in lieu thereof, can be avoided if exchange marriage takes place. People, therefore, generally prefer exchange marriages. If a Newar wants to marry his son and if he wants to avoid the giving of 'Lakha' he may do so by offering his own daughter or any other girl of his family in marriage to his would be

daughter-in-law's brother or to any man of that family. This facility of exchange marriage has to a great extent helped the Newars to mitigate their helplessness of not being able to give the 'Lakha'. The exchange marriage also helps in another way. It economises the cost of feasts on the part of both sides. With the same expenditure the feasts connected with two different marriages - that of the son and the daughter - can be accomplished. As revealed by their answers, the majority of the heads of the 224 families included in the survey take the view that this also helps to stabilise relationship between the bride and the members of her husband's family. Newari family being too traditional the daughters-in-law are at times subjected to cruelty and illtreatment by their mothers-in-law whose power is enormous. The daughter-in-law has to do all ^{the} household work from cooking to the washing of clothes, since very rarely does a Newar family employ a servant, however, rich it may be. A bride obtained in exchange marriage has less fear of being tortured since there is always the scope for retaliation by the family of her birth against their own daughter-in-law.

Exchange marriage fulfils another social function, rather in an indirect way. While the fear of retaliation

limits the range of conflict a fund of affection and love for the daughter-in-law is created by the realisation that she is the sister of the son-in-law of the family.

Wherever exchange marriage is not possible and cash has been paid in lieu of the Lakha, the relationship between the daughter-in-law and the members of her husband's household becomes more ~~than~~ often ^{than} not a problem. For, very often the bride's husband's household members boast of having literally purchased her and the taunts are flung at her, which lead to her unhappy life. Even the community members in the locality talk about such payment. The daughter-in-law develops an inferiority complex. This happens specially in the upper strata of the society where the women are little inclined to create a scene by resorting to divorce. In the lower strata of the society, however, this could be easily solved. In the latter case, the daughter-in-law may go away with her lover who could pay back the cost of 'Lakha' to the injured husband.

While the custom of Lakha is still the practice among the majority of the Newars, a few instances is not lacking where it has been altogether dispensed with. In many of these cases the bride's parents did not accept the Lakha from the bridegroom's side, but distributed it among their relatives by meeting the cost themselves. These are, however, exceptions rather than a rule.

Lakha also constitutes an important factor for the Newars being distinguished from the other communities. If you ask a non-Newar of the Valley of Kathmandu or of any where else in Nepal as how do the Newars differ from them, they will, among other things, say, "They accept Lakha at the time of their daughter's marriage whereas we do not". 'Lakha' custom is, therefore, one of the items of cultural difference between the Newars and other non-Newars of the Valley.

A day before the date of marriage procession the 'Kalya-Nhye-Ke-gu' ceremony takes place. It involves slipping into ^{the} bride's wrist an ornament known as Kalya. It is also known as 'Bahi', a term current in Hindi. This wrist ornament is made of gold and silver and bears resemblance to a similar ornament in vogue among the women in Bihar. In Bihar, it is known as Baju. The Kalya bears on it the symbols of 'Ashta Matrika' (eight mother goddesses) which are meant to bestow protection to the wearer. The 'Kalyan-Nhye-Ke-gu' ceremony is popularly followed by the castes such as the Shrestha, the Vanras, the Udas, ^{and} the Manandhar. It does not appear to be much in vogue among the Jyapoo Newars. One of the Jyapoos of

Panga when asked in this connection, told that they did not have such practice.

On the occasion of 'Kalyan-Nhye-Ke-gu' day the bridegroom's representatives proceed to the house of the bride's family. They are accompanied by a Vanra, in his capacity as gold and silversmith. The worshipping items are as usual carried. On reaching the house of the bride's family, 'puja' is first offered to Ganesh. Then the Vanra goldsmith slips the Bahi or Kalya around the girl's wrist. The 'prasad' of Ganesh is then presented to the bride. The Sagan brought from the bridegroom's house is presented to her. The function is rounded off with the feasting of the party.

It would be proper to draw here the attention of the reader to the development of the new social behaviour between the bride and her kinsfolk after the fixation of the date of marriage procession on the 'Lakha-biye-gu' day. It is the most momentous period both for the bride and her kinsfolk. It is not only the family in which she is born which is concerned with her, but also the families of all her parents' kins. She is the daughter of the community

and her departure is now as sure as death. Soon she would no more belong to them since she would be joining another family, the family of her procreation. To her husband's family would she belong. This realisation is manifested in the custom of 'Painaja'. The bride hereafter does not take her meal in her parents' house. Each day she has to visit the house of each of the family^{ies} of her father's relatives including both official and consanguineal. First she has to visit turn by turn all the 'Fukee' families. Then she has to visit the families of cognates. The last family which she visits and where she has her last meal is that of her mother's brother. For her it is the closest and most beloved family among all the cognates. Her visit to her mother's brother's house usually falls on the day of marriage procession. On this day there is itself a feast in her parents' family for all the 'Fukee members'. But the bride is conspicuous by her absence and may be enjoying the farewell dinner at her mother's brother's house.

The 'Painaja' custom is an indication of strong kinship bond which exists among the Newars as distinct from Gorkhas who do not have such a custom. The significant point to note is that in no other community in Nepal is

the farewell dinner to a girl who is going to be married given such an institutionalised form. This custom helps to identify the daughter of a family as the daughter of those entire families which are bound together by the ties of kinship.

The marriage procession is called 'Laswowa-ne-gu'. It means the taking out of a marriage procession. It denotes the act of going to the house of bride's parents and fetching the bride. It is also known by the term 'Janta' derived from Nepali. The Gorkhas employ the term Jantee to denote their own marriage procession. The Janta always proceeds to the bride's house after ~~the~~ sunset. The normal practice is that the invitees should join the marriage procession after having taken their usual dinner at their own homes.

In a Newar marriage procession, the bridegroom is conspicuous by his absence. He remains at home, while his elders and friends go to fetch the bride for him. The only exception is the Munshi sub-caste among the 'Chhatharia' Newars, who do not follow such a custom. In their marriage procession bridegroom is indispensable. A few Newars have,

however, started the practice of bridegroom accompanying the procession. But such cases are rare, and even in these, the bridegrooms are not meant for anything else than to look impressive at the procession. For the bridegroom has no ceremonial act to perform at the bride's house. These bridegrooms who head the processions do so under the force of the opinion of the Gorkhas and the Indian migrants who look down upon a Newar marriage owing to the passive role of the bridegroom.

On the day of the marriage procession a grand feast is held by the bridegroom's family. It is confined to only kinmen. A few close friends may also be invited to this feast, but not all the invitees who join the marriage procession. The feast is arranged in three groups. The agnates are separated from the rest of the invitees. Again relatives other than the agnates are separated from the friends of the family. Such ordering of the participators in the feast has the desired effect of maintaining firstly the agnatic solidarity, and secondly, of distinguishing cognates from the non-relatives.

In the above mentioned feasts a variety of buffalo-meat dishes, flattened rice, all kinds of

Newari sweets, raddishes, fried black soyabean and several kinds of boiled seeds are included in the menu. The food has to be generally served-atleast the curd, by the son-in-laws of the house who are appointed to welcome the guests. A similar feast is also held on the bride's side for their own relatives and friends.

In the evening preparations are made for the marriage procession. The procession is arranged in a definite pattern. Two persons, each carrying a 'Sukunda' lamp, are placed at the head. Then follow the men of the Kusle and Kasei castes with their musical instruments. Now-a-days the Parhatia caste Dama is in addition employed to provide the music. The procession is headed by the eldest male member of the family or by the Thakali. Besides the eldest female member of the clan, preferably the Thakali Naki, is also required to accompany the procession in case of a few castes. But among the Shresthas and other high caste Newars such function is provided by a woman of Jyapoo caste. Then follow other relatives and friends who in turn are followed by the bearers of worshipping material and 'dooly', the traditional palanquin. There is a special feature to be noted

in respect of the persons who carry the worshipping material. In the marriages of high caste Newars, these persons must be dressed as Tebetans. The explanation given for this practice is that these men are intended to signify to the bride's party that the bridegroom's parents own a business house in Lhasa, the Tebetan capital. These men in Tebetan dress together with the bearers of the 'dooly' are the first to reach the bride's place. Till then the whole procession has to wait at a distance. When the procession reaches its destination, the bride's people welcome it and the guests are conducted to a hall where they are served with betels, cigarettes and dry fruits. It is, however, not the traditional custom to feast the members of the marriage procession which is a contrast to the practice among the Gorkhas.

All the processionists leave the bride's place except the elders of the bridegroom and a few chosen friends of the latter. The bride's people busy themselves in the functions that are to follow next. The functions are exclusively confined to the kins of the bride's parents and the members of the bridegroom's party do not participate in it. They simply wait on the ground floor for the bride so that they might take her away with them.

The details of the ceremonies are as follows. First Ganesh is worshipped with their own puja material. The other deities which are worshipped at this time include, as usual, Bhairava, Bhagwati, Ashta-Matrika and the Kul-deity of the bride's parents. When the puja is over, a communal feast takes place at the same place in which all the kinsmen of the bride participate. This feast is known as Sambaja Nake gu. In it the priest occupies his seat at the head, followed next by the bride and then next by the Thakali and ^{the} other members in order. The elders of the bridegroom's family who remain there during the night may or may not be called upon to join the feast. Then the 'Thai-bu' ritual takes place. The bride is served with food in the 'Thai-bu' dish. The feast being over, the place is cleaned and washed with cowdung-solution.

The next event to follow is the offering of Sagan and of such presents to the bride as would have been brought by the relatives of the family. The traditional presents are, however, mostly copper utensils for the household use. The parents of the bride also present, at least a set of woollen clothes, saris,

blouse, chhaddar, two tolas of gold and eight tolas of silver. Among others also include a big wooden box and a spinning wheel which are the two most essential traditional items to be given by the parents of the bride. The bride's mother's ⁶mother is expected to present a cow to her. If she presents a cow, two curds - one small and another big one - are given to her as a token of it. Such symbolic representations is made also when immovable property is given to the bride as her dowry. If she is given a house a brick is presented and if a piece of land, a handful of soil is put into her hand.

While the function is going on in the house of the bridegroom's party sends one of its representatives to make a formal call, on the bride's family demanding that the bride be sent along with them. Such calls are made thrice. Each time the person goes to tell the members of the bride's party that since the girl has to be anyhow given, there is no point in making delay. Each time the bride's family members offer him 'Sagan', feast him substantially and send him down. On the third formal call, however, the bridegroom's representatives is supposed to insist upon the bride being made over to them. With this third formal demand for the bride, the function of farewell starts.

The farewell function is called 'Gue-Kaiye-qu', the giving of betel nuts by the bride to her kins. The betel nuts are supplied by the bridegroom's party. Gue-Kaiye-qu, therefore, signifies that the hour of departure for the bride has arrived. The bride now starts taking leave of her parents' kins by presenting ten betel-nuts to each of them. The distribution of betel nuts by the bride as usual follows the age seniority. It begins with the offering of betel nuts to the Kul deity. First the Thakali receives ten betelnuts on behalf of each of the Dewali deity and other gods and goddesses. Then he receives his own. The persons who receive the betel nuts last are the parents of the bride whom the bride presents such nuts in a small bag and it is known ritually as Futu-gueye. Each of the relatives who receives the betelnuts may have already presented some present to the bride; if not it is now the occasion^{for} she or he to make such presents to the bride. While presenting the betel nuts to the relatives, the bride is not expected to touch the feet of her seniors except her mother's. Even in the case of her mother, she touches the feet only from now onward. The unmarried daughters are never supposed to touch any body's feet and it accords well with the practice of Kumari worship.

The completion of 'Gue Kaye bu' means that the bride is now ready to leave for husband's home. By this time the members of the marriage procession will have already returned and been ready to take away the bride.

The father of the bride or the eldest male member among his collaterals as the case may be, lifts up the bride and carries her on his ~~own~~ back to the dooly. He then puts her into the dooly and performs the ceremony of 'Phanga-Taye-gu'. This consists in covering the dooly with a silken chaddar. The dooly is then lifted by the two bearers. This is the most momentous hour, an occasion of the grim realisation that the daughter of the family now no more belongs to her parent's home. Weeping starts, while the procession slowly begins to move headed by the bridegroom's elders, amid loud music.

The procession stops at the temple of Ganesh of the locality. The procession along with the bride circumambulates the temple three times and then proceeds further. When the procession reaches the border of the village or locality, it has to halt for taking leave of the bride's parents and party. The priests of the two

sides engage themselves in ritual conversation. The priest on the bride's parent's side initiates the talk by saying "Now hereafter our daughter belongs to you people. She is so innocent, please treat her kindly and as your own daughter. See that she is happy". He then on behalf of the bride's parents requests the bridegroom's priest to excuse for the inconvenience caused to them in the house of the bride's parents. The bridegroom's priest makes a suitable reply. He says, "Don't worry, she is as much our daughter as yours. We shall make our best efforts to make her happy. And as for inconvenience there is nothing to be complained about. We did not have in the least any inconvenience. On the contrary, we were met with the best hospitality and we thank you for that". After such formal conversation the bride's people bid good bye to the marriage procession and return home. The procession moves on to its onward journey.

The bride, in many cases, is not taken straight way to the bridegroom's house. She is first taken to a

different place in the vicinity of the bridegroom's locality. Only after day-break is she taken to the bridegroom's house. This is known as 'Sisi-Taye-gu'. But on reaching the locality of the bridegroom the procession first proceeds to the temple of Ganesh. It circumambulates the temple and then proceeds towards the bridegroom's house.

It may be remarked here that the Newars have an appointed route through which marriage procession wends. Just as the route for the funeral procession is fixed so is the case with the marriage procession too. Such traditional routes are much more in evidence in the towns of Bhaktapur and Sankhu than in Kathmandu. In the first two towns there are two different routes and entrances to the settlement: one for bringing the brides in and the other for sending the married daughters out.

The procession stops at the entrance of the house of the bridegroom for the 'Du-chai-ke-gu' ceremony. All the female kinsfolk of the bridegroom await for the arrival of the bride to welcome her in. Among these, the 'Thakali Naki' and the 'Nokul^hi-Naki' are the chief ladies who assume the ritual leaderships. The two ladies stand

at the entrance of the house. The bride stands in front of these chief ladies. She is made to stand on the spot known as 'Chhetrapal' which is sanctified by washing it with cow-dung solution. The bride is flanked at her right and left by two maidens, representing 'Syangini' and 'Byangini', each of them holding the traditional lamp, - 'Sukunda'. Now the priest officiates in the function, and the Puja starts with the worship of Ganesh. The chief gods which are worshipped, in addition, are the 'Kul' deity of the bridegroom, Bhairava, Kumari and the goddess of wealth. After such worship, the 'Thakali Naki' proceeds to welcome the bride. She first takes a burning wick soaked in 'ghee' and performs the 'arati' of the bride; she then showers rice and flowers over her. Soon after this, the ritual of 'Shiparathi' or 'Pathi-Lui-gu' is performed by the 'Thakali Naki'. The grain measuring pot, 'Pathi' is three times filled with fruits and flowers and showered over the bride. Then the 'Thakali Naki' applies a 'teeka' of vermilion and curd on the forehead of the bride. The bride is now ready for being conducted to the house through the ritual of Lassa-Kussa. But whether or not she is to be immediately led to the place where the ceremonies are to take place is left to the

discretion. She may be allowed to take a little rest, before she participates in the marriage ceremony.

The first ceremony is known as 'Honke-gu' which means the performance of 'Hawan'. It is performed without a mandap unlike the Gorkhas. Now for the first time the bridegroom appears on the scene. He takes his seat in front of the 'Hawan'. To his left sits the bride. The priest officiates in the 'Hawan'. Occasionally the priest asks the couple and the relatives of the bridegroom to offer a mixture of 'dhoop-powder' and rice to the sacred fire. Besides the worship of the sacred fire, the other deities which are worshipped include Ganesh, 'Digu-Deya' (Dewali), 'Agan Deya' (Agama Deva), 'Kumari', 'Fithas' and Bhairava of bridegroom's parents.

After 'Honke-gu', the ritual of introducing the bride to the kinsfolk of the bridegroom begins. This is done as usual by the presentation of the betel nuts to each of the relatives of the bridegroom. It is just like the 'Gue-Kai-qu' which is performed at the time of leaving the parent's house. First of all, the 'Thakali' of the Dewali Guthi of the bridegroom receives from the bride five betelnuts

each in the name of Ganesh, Agan-Deya, Kul-deity, Digu Deya, Bhairava and Kumari. Then he accepts ten betelnuts for himself. The bride then presents the betelnuts one by one to each of the remaining relatives of the bridegroom. Every time when she presents the betel nuts, she bows down with clasped hands. Finally, she circumambulates the bridegroom, presents him also with betel nuts and bows down, her forehead touching his feet. The bride's hands are then washed and she is given flowers after which the couple worship the above mentioned deities. The 'Thakali Naki' then smears a teeka made of a mixture of curd, rice, vermillion, first on her own forehead and then on that of the bride. After this the 'Thakali-Naki' performs the ritual of sweeping clean the portion of the floor in front of the couple with a broom. The cook has to appear now on the scene for a ritual function. He is given in a small leaf-dish a share of food to be offered to the sun. For this ritual act, he is paid two Mohars.

The next important ceremony is the 'Thai-bhu' wherein the couple taste the ceremonial food. This is ~~done~~ as one of the most important parts of the Newar marriage and is designed to give social recognition to

the marital bond of the couple. The bridegroom and the bride have to eat from the same plate. A 'Thai-bhu' is brought containing a number of items of food which should at least, in theory, be 84 in kind, called 'Chaurasi Vyanjan'. Out of this, the bridegroom and the bride offer turn by turn, a little food to the various gods and evil spirits with a view to pleasing them. This is called 'Bali-Taye-gu' (offering of Bali). Then only does follow the ceremony of 'eating together'. It is known as 'Sabja(n)-Nake-gu'. This is in fact the equivalent of the Gorkha ceremony when a bride has to eat the left-over from the bridegroom's plate. For this, the bridegroom first performs the ritual of eating the 'Panch-grasa'. Each time he eats with a different finger, after which he is offered 'Saga(n)'. He eats half of it leaving the other half to be eaten by the bride. Then he proceeds to eat from the 'Thai-bhu'. After he has finished the eating, the bride has also to eat similarly; but she has to pick up the food from the same spot from where the bridegroom had taken.

The 'Thai-bhu' ceremony is followed by the 'Kalapo' ceremony. It is the ritual of warding off the influence of evil spirits. After every 'Thai-bhu' or ceremonial eating, this ritual must be practised. A lighted wick is placed in a leaf-dish containing some

food material, while everything including the left-over in the 'Thai-bhu' is removed. This left-over food is thrown at the 'Chhwasa'. The person who carries the food to the 'Chhwasa', it is believed should not look back.

Now the 'Pathi-Lui-gu' ritual takes place. We need not go into its details since these have been described earlier. The 'Thakali Naki' who performs this ritual is presented with betelnuts by the bride.

If the bride has not already undergone 'Barha', a special ceremony called 'Sapya-Ke-gu' is performed after 'Honke-gu'. Among the Udas it is reported that this ceremony is necessary for all brides. 'Sapya-Ke-gu' or 'Kesh Vandhan' signifies a pretension on the part of the bridegroom to win over the bride. All the material needed for this ceremony is sent by the bride's parents. The hair of the bride is being oiled, combed and tied into five knots by the bridegroom. The knots are made over the crown of her head and bound by three red ribbons. A silver comb and also an ordinary one are inserted by the bridegroom into the hair knots of the bride. He has also to apply 'Kajal' (^{Collyrium} ~~black-ash~~) in her eyes and smear

vermillion along the parting of her hair; and while the bridegroom smears vermillion on her head, the bride's eyes are blindfolded with a piece of cloth. The bridegroom later presents the bride with the 'Jwalah-Nhaika' and 'Shina Mhu'. The 'Thakali Naki' or the eldest female member of the family has also to perform her usual role in this function. She stamps 'teeka' on the foreheads of the couple, and presents them the traditional sweat-meats.

Besides, she presents a big earthen pot containing sweat-meats to the bridegroom, made of dry fruits and jaggery, which is known as 'Kalya Marhi'. To the bride she presents another type of sweatmeat called 'Marhi-Kasi'. Then she proceeds ~~with~~ to present the bride ^{with} the 'Tau-Maka'. It consists of a number of earthen pots placed one above another in a pyramid form. Each of these pots contains some kind of grain, the bottom-most pot containing parched Mecca. A piece of 'Kali-Marhi' and some parched Mecca ^{are} ~~is~~ then given to each of the relatives present at the moment there. This being over, the bride exchanges a little quantity of 'Chhusya-Mussyas' with the bridegroom for the 'Kali-Marhi'. The ceremony gets over with the showing of the 'Jwalah-Nhai-ka' to the bride.

The bridegroom and bride are not allowed to live together in the same room till the worship of the family Kul deity is over. This function is called 'Vana-Jala'. The bride and bridegroom, accompanied by the 'Fukee' members pay a visit to the presiding god of the locality. After having made obeisance to such deity, the bridegroom has to perform the 'Sincho-Fya-ye-gu' ceremony by applying vermilion on the bride's forehead. Invariably a duck or a goat is generally sacrificed to the deity at this occasion. Those who cannot afford may substitute it with an egg. The puja being over, the ritual of 'Sagan' takes place. Starting with the couple, each of the relatives who are present, are presented 'Sagan' by the 'Thakali Naki'. All sit together to eat 'Sagan' and after which the ritual breakfast 'Samai' is to take place. From the time they return home, the bride and the bridegroom are regarded as husband and wife for all purposes and are allowed to share the same bed. This ceremony also makes it incumbent on the part of the parents to allot a separate room for the couple.

The members of the bride's parent's family and relatives come to the bridegroom's place for the ceremony of 'Kwa-Swe-gu'. The purpose is to see 'the face' of the

bride. They bring with them several kinds of traditional Newari sweatmeats which must include 'Nya', 'Byan' and 'Bhattoo' marhies. 'Nya' is in the form of a fish; 'Byan', a frog and Bhattoo, a pigeon. The members of the bride's parent's family are received by the bridegroom's family and are offered betels. No adult female member accompanys this visit. The bride comes out and takes her seat. In this function the bridegroom should not be present. The bride is offered 'Sagan' on behalf of her parent's family. A set of new clothes is also presented to her. The bride leaves the place for the moment and reappears after a couple of minutes wearing the dress presented to her by her parents. She then gives ten betel nuts to every one of her parent's relatives who in turn give her some coins. After 'Kwa-Swe' the bride is taken back by her parents to their house along with the bridegroom. The bridegroom does not accompany them right from the start. Rather the tradition is that the bride and her parents should go a little distance away and wait there for the arrival of the bridegroom to join the company. This is the first time that the bride's parents and their relatives meet the bridegroom. He had so long been just a stranger to the bride's parents family and he is still to

be considered a stranger till he is introduced to the members of the bride's parent's family and their relatives at a ceremony to be held subsequently called 'Fukee-Mhasi-Ke-gu' on arriving ~~the party~~ home. In it the bridegroom presents ten betelnuts to each of the relatives of the bride's parents. From the point of view of the bride's members, it is alternatively called 'Gue-Sakee', accepting betelnuts. The procedure is like the one followed at the time of 'Honke-gu'. The 'Thakali Naki' of the bride's parents' 'Dewali Guthi' applies 'teeka' made of the mixture of rice and curd on the bridegroom's forehead. Then the 'Sagan' ritual takes place. All of them sit together to eat the 'Sagan'. It is also the time for cracking jokes, in which the unmarried daughters and friends of the bride mainly participate. The same night a communal feast follows in which the 'Fukee' members of the bride's family have to sit together to dine with the bridegroom. This signifies the admission of the bridegroom by the bride's members. After the feast, the two families are united and the bridegroom is now no more a stranger. Hereafter, if any death occurs in the family of his wife's parents, the bridegroom has to observe death pollution, as his wife does, for a period of four days.

There is complete dearth of the marriage songs, so far^{as} the Newars are concerned. The writer had the occasion to attend a number of marriages, but in none of them could he come across a male or female engaged in songs. On inquiry, a Newar, however, drew the attention to a song which refers to the advices given by the parents of a bride while she prepares for going to her husband's home. The father asks his daughter to proceed for her husband's home and if she did not like to live there, to come back as a free woman after four days. The song is significant in as much as it refers to the liberty enjoyed by a woman to abandon her husband at her will. But now a days no such song is sung. But a note of seriousness is maintained throughout the marriage as if it were meant to emphasise the new responsibility that the woman has to shoulder as against the easy and comfortable life in her parents' home. The Gorkhas in this respect present a contrast, whose marriage is punctuated with songs, mirth and gai^ety. They have a peculiar custom called 'Ratauli', which is rather unique. On the day when a Gorkha marriage procession leaves for the bride's house all the women of the locality and of the family of the bridegroom's side

assemble together at night to play 'Ratauli'. Several of these women play the role as men while the others become their lovers. The women representing the males attach to themselves artificial male organs and indulge in imitative sexual acts with the other women. The entire night is thus spent in such symbolic displays of sexual frenzy, accompanied by songs and music. Men are tabooed from seeing such a play.

As would be seen from the foregoing description, a Newar traditional marriage is a long series of ceremonies involving little or no role of the bridegroom unless the bride is brought into her husband's home. It involves a great deal of expenditure on feasts. The Newars have introduced an innovation; they have adopted Swayamvara marriage. In a Swayamvara marriage, the bridegroom and bride go to a temple of Ganesh and the former is garlanded by the latter. Thus the marriage is completed. This type of marriage is gradually becoming popular in the town of Kathmandu. The people in ~~and~~ the village of Panga have not, however, adopted it. In the eastern part of the Valley, the Newars of Bhaktapur town still prefer either the traditional marriage or the practise ~~of~~ elopement of the woman.

Sometimes to dispense with the cost of feasts and Lakha, a third variety of marriage is adopted. It is variant of the traditional type. Both the bridegroom's and bride's party agree between themselves to solemnise the marriage secretly and carry out all the stages of traditional ceremonies without inviting any relatives. This spares the huge expenditure on feasts.

But the most common method of obtaining a wife is to elope ^{with} a girl of one's own choice. This not only hits at the orthodox views of the parents, but also spares a man and a woman of the financial burden that the traditional marriage involves. Such practice is often occasioned ^{by the} abduracy of the girl's parents. At times a man is forced to elope with a girl when he is unable to marry owing to his inability to provide for the marriage expenses. Thus, he runs away with the girl and hides her for a period of four days, after which period he brings her out. Both of them are now legally and socially regarded as husband and wife.

If the parents are able to find out such an eloped daughter within four days, they can claim her back.

The daughter, despite the possibility of her cohabitation with her lover, is regarded as a virgin. But after the fourth day, the parents cannot lay claim on her. She becomes the lawful wife of her lover. Her lover, therefore, can take her out from the place of hiding.

The status of a woman who becomes a wife by running away with the man of her choice is in no way diminished. She enjoys the same social privileges and legal rights as enjoyed by any other wife. Though in the beginning the parents of the bride show displeasure, later^{on}, they take it as a matter of course and the normal relationship is soon established.

Marriage by elopment is more common among the castes of lower economic status, though it is not totally absent among the well-to-do high caste Newars. In theory the high caste Newars do not generally approve of such type of marriage as it is considered to be disgraceful. It is, however, tolerated. The writer came across a Buddhamargi-priest ^{of whose} ~~whose~~ all four daughters had eloped with their respective lovers. The women are not subjected

to social stigmatisation, because those lovers are of the same caste. The Jyapoos who constitute the predominant population of the Valley find the marriage by elopement a convenient way to overcome the financial obstacle. Notwithstanding this wide prevalent practice, so far as the parents' of a girl ^{are} concerned, the elopement method is not liked by them. This sentiment of disapproval is reflected in an answer given by a Jyapoo of Panga. When the writer asked one Jugi Singh, as to why he should be so anxious to marry away his daughter who was then hardly 14 years of age, he replied that if she was not married early, she was likely to run away with the man of her choice when she became more grown up, and to Jugi Singh such a possibility meant a possibility of disgrace. On being further pressed as to what he would do if his daughter eloped with a man, he told that he would accept his daughter's husband as his son-in-law if he (son-in-law) was of the same caste. Thus it is seen that there is no social sanction against the elopement marriage though it is disliked. Nevertheless it is recognised by the Newari society.

It may not be taken to mean here that the elopement marriage is the feature only of the Newars.

It is equally prevalent among the other communities of Nepal. It is also practised by the Gorkhas, who, however, always make a distinction between the wife obtained through the formal marriage and the one who is simply kept as a wife. Such a distinction is reflected in their case in the social privileges and in inheritance rights granted to the children by such a wife.

II

FAMILY

On marriage the bride loses her membership of her natal family and becomes a new member of her conjugal family. The loss of the old membership and the adoption of the new one have far reaching consequences as regards her legal, social and political rights. From the point of view of her family of birth she is deemed to be an out-group member. Her closer link with her conjugal family are reflected in the ceremonial rights and obligations which she loses in one home and gains in the other. Thus, in the event of her death her obsequies are performed by the members of her husband's group. Her parents and other kins have now to observe only a four day death pollution in case she dies. She, on her part, also need not observe hitherto a thirteen day death pollution in the event of a death in her parents' family or in any of their 'Fukees'. Now she has to observe only a four-day pollution. But in relation to her own conjugal family and their kins the case is quite different. The affliction in this respect is for a thirteen day period, showing her solidarity with this group.

The new relationship emerging from her marriage is also expressed in terms of her right to participate in the ancestral worship and the communal feasts. On marriage, she is excluded from participation in the Dewali worship and the ceremonial feasts of her parents' group. Such privileges she now enjoys in her own group of which her conjugal family is a member.

The link with her natal family is not, however, abruptly terminated on her marriage. She may still be regarded as continuing to be the member of her natal family for a year at least, from one important point of view. She is permitted to join the worship of 'Dewali' of her parents, and the feasts, following her marriage, for a period of only one year. Thereafter she has to join her husband's Dewali. It implies then that she is not yet the full fledged member of her husband's group since she has yet to be ceremonially admitted to her husband's Dewali and to the feasts connected with it, the details of which are given elsewhere.

Break in the residential continuity of the bride is another important consequence which follows on her marriage. The bride has to leave her parental home to

join that of her husband. The shift of residence may, however, be deferred, if she is too young to assume her wifely responsibilities. This usually happens when an early marriage takes place. In such a circumstance, both the uniting families agree to allow the bride to live in her parent's home till such time as deemed necessary. Afterwards the bride joins her husband's home.

The bride's relation with her parent's family is that of the closest one. In this respect the Newars are comparatively unique. Here it is interesting to note that a married woman while referring to her parents' home says 'Jhi-Thaye' or 'Tha-Chhe'. It means 'our house' or 'in our house'. In contrast to it, her husband's home is not referred to as her own. The descriptive term 'Bhata-chhe' is used. It means 'husband's house'. While saying that she has to go to her conjugal home she says 'Bhata-Li-ni-gu-Chhe'. It means going to the home of husbands(in a general sense) and husband (in a particular sense). Such intimacy is further expressed not only in terms of the tender feelings but also in terms of innumerable contacts. For a year or two a great part of the bride's time is spent

in her parent's home with only occasional visits to her husband's home. Thus it is a widely prevalent practice among the Newars for the married daughters to come to live with her parents for a few days in a week till she gives birth to her first child. Generally the married daughters come to stay with their parents in the morning and return to their husband's homes in the evening. It is not unusual to witness in the Valley of Kathmandu hordes of Newar women moving to and fro between their conjugal homes and the parents' homes, every day in the morning and evening, each with a small bundle of clothes.

After the lapse of some years such frequent visits to her parents home slows down. She nevertheless continues to maintain a fairly good contact with her parents. The nature of Newar marriage ties confining to a limited area as seen earlier contributes to the maintenance of such close physical relationship between the married daughters and their parents.

Convention, however, demands that every time when a woman is in her natal home, some one must come from her husband's home to fetch her back. It is not

deemed as indecent on the part of a woman to go back to her husband's home unless she has been sent for. Many a time it so happens that the husbands do not send for their wives with the intention of deserting them. Such instances are not few in the Valley of Kathmandu. The 29 women from Kathmandu and a woman from Panga whose cases were recorded under 'desertion' in the sample were actually the wives whose husbands had failed to send for them. It was reported that there was no hope of their being called back. This convention serves an important social purpose, though it has its own defects. It enhances the prestige value of the women and makes her feel every time that she is wanted in her husband's home. Besides, a community among which divorce is so widely practised and among which a woman has comparatively greater privilege for dispensing with her husband, it is the only means for the latter to get rid of his wife, if he so chooses. This convention, therefore, acts as a compensatory factor in favour of the husbands who otherwise do not have the unilateral right to get rid of their wives if they so desire. Under the above convention, a husband, if he does not like his wife, simply sends her away to her parents' home and does not

afterwards call her back. After the lapse of a good deal of time, the deserted wife takes it for granted that she is no longer a mistress of her husband's home, though she retains her legal claim till the marriage is dissolved. The best course for her would be now to agree to a divorce. But many a time this convention puts undue power into the hands of those husbands who are designing.

Though residential transfer of the bride to her husband's home is one of the outcomes of marriage, there is an alternative arrangement under which the husband comes to live with his wife in his father-in-law's house. This arrangement is known by the term 'Ghar Jawain' which is also common in India. This term is borrowed by the Newars from the Gorkhas. Under the custom a man who does not have a son but only daughters, may invite one of his sons-in-law, to live in his house, instead of sending away his daughter to the latter's home. Instances of this custom is also found in the historical records. King Jaishthi Malla, the Newar Malla sovereign of Nepal is said to have been a 'Ghar Jawain'.¹ He succeeded to the throne of Nepal by virtue of marrying princess Rajalla Devi. In one of the inscriptions attributed to the Malla period, Jaisthi Malla

1. J.A.S.B. Part I, Vol. 72, 1903, pp. 11-12.

is introduced as Rajjalla-Pati (husband of Rajalla).² It, therefore, not only indicates that it was a custom among the Mallas at least, in the early times, but also it suggests a subordinate position accorded to a 'Ghar-Jawain' in relation to his wife.

At present, however, 'Ghar Jawain' is looked down by the Newars, and no man who is conscious of his prestige will choose, without some sense of guilty to be a 'Ghar-Jawain'. People are forced to accept such a derogatory status only on account of their poverty. Parents are also very reluctant to allow their sons to be a 'Ghar Jawain'. In Panga village, only two instances of 'Ghar Jawain' were reported. In addition, a blacksmith was reported to be contemplating to have a 'Ghar Jawain'. There were also a few instances of it reported from the Kathmandu town. In all the 224 sample families surveyed, however, there was not a single instance of it. We can, therefore, say that the institution of 'Ghar Jawain' is not widely prevalent among the Newars.

The reasons for keeping a 'Ghar Jawain' is always said to be the failure of a man to beget a male issue. In

2. Ibid.

all the instances referred to above such was the reason adduced. The usual practice to take a Ghar Jawain is to ask the husband of the youngest daughter to come to live in the house.

Under the institution of 'Ghar Jawain' the property is always succeeded by the daughter and not by the son-in-law.

The 'Ghar Jawain' along with his wife and children is regarded as an out-group member by the kin of his father-in-law since he and his family belongs to a different lineage group and to a different Dewali. The mere residential transfer of the man from his own home to that of his father-in-law's, does not alter the fact that he and his family always belongs to his own patrilineal group. A 'Ghar Jawain', therefore, cannot perform the obsequies of his father-in-law, nor of any member of the latter's family, though his son may do so.

The 'Ghar Jawain' more often than not comes into conflict with his father-in-law's kins-folk. He is the cause of the withdrawal of the tender feelings lavished

upon his wife by her parental kin. Such a conflict at times takes a serious turn, specially when the father-in-law of the 'Ghar Jawain' dies intestate. A typical example of it, is provided by the case of one Mangaldas who had become a 'Ghar Jawain'. The father-in-law of Mangaldas died, before he could transfer his property in favour of his three daughters, including the wife of Mangaldas. The two sisters-in-law of Mangaldas were not yet married. They all lived together and Mangaldas looked after the property as well as managed the shop of his deceased father-in-law. The kin of the father-in-law of Mangaldas wanted to take possession of the property, but they could not do so, because there were still two unmarried daughters of the deceased, who could be regarded as the legal heirs. Mangaldas desirous of having a de facto control over his father-in-law's property, knew this too well and therefore took all possible precautions to see that his two unmarried sisters-in-law lived with him. He also planned not to arrange for their marriages, with a view to preventing his father-in-law's kin from advancing any claim to the property. Somehow or other the kin of the late father-in-law of Mangaldas succeeded in persuading those unmarried girls to live with them. After some time they were married.

Now the ground being clear, Mangaldas and his family were forcibly driven out of the house as well as dispossessed of the shop. This example is enough to show the bad blood that a 'Ghar Jawain' creates apart from his being looked down upon by the society.

Polygamy is comparatively rare among the Newars in contrast to the Gorkhas who widely practise it. There may be very few Gorkhas who do not have at least two wives. Specially those among them who serve as soldiers make it a point to have at least two wives. The popularity among the Gorkhas of this practice may be judged from their numerous folk songs in which the sentiments of love are lavished upon the 'Kanchi', the junior wife. Some of these folk songs reveal untold agonies of the superceded wife who lament about her misfortune. One of the couplets runs - "Khukuri Bhire-ra 'Kanchhi' jana paryo German-Ko Dhawai Ma". It means: 'Oh my younger wife! I have now to bear my Khukuri and go to the front to fight the Germans.' The well-to-do Gorkhas may have any number of wives. Instances of Gorkhas having four to five wives are quite common in the Valley. As against this, the Newars, though they too recognise such institution, very rarely practise it.

Polygamy among them is an exception rather than a rule. History tells that it was a luxury in which the royal Mallas used to indulge. King Pratap Malla (1639 A.D.) is known to have have more than 3,000 concubines. Jai Prakash Malla(1769 A.D.) is also said to have had numerous wives. At present, it is no~~t~~ doubt that many of the rich Newars in the Valley are found keeping concubines. But the majority of them still do not have more than one wife at a time. A Newar prefers to be polygamous only under one condition, i.e. when the first wife fails to bear a child to him.

Of the 257 marriages recorded both from Panga and Kathmandu for which such informations are available there are only 8 instances of polygamy. Five of these relate to the Kathmandu sample and three to Panga. These together form 3.12 per cent of the total marriages. In all of these cases the husbands were found to be living not more than with two wives. The only reason involved in these polygamous marriages was reported to be the failure of the first wife to bear a child. In each of these cases, the consent of the first wife was invariably obtained before contacting the second marriage. The

average age at marriage of the first wives in these cases works to 15.12 years and their average age at the time of their husband's second marriage to 32.37 years. Their husbands' age at second marriage is 33.37 years and the average age at marriage of the second wives works out to 20.05 years. Taking the age of 15 years as the child bearing stage of the Newar woman, the husbands in question appear to have married a second wife only after waiting for about 16 years. Looking at the sentiments for, and social needs of a child among the Newars, it is not abnormal for a man to take a second wife, when the first wife fails to bear a child even after such a long time. The gap of age between the husband and his second wife in these polygamous marriages is of 12.87 years, which is rather high. This can be explained by the fact that the late marriages of the Newar women are rarely to be found. Therefore, a man who needs a second wife must look for a woman within that age group who is available for marriage.

While polygamy is approved but scantily practised, polyandry is completely non-existent. Even the idea of it is unthinkable. It may be mentioned in this connection that B.H.Hodgson had remarked in 1880 that the Newars were once known to have been polyandrous.³ But he did not give any

3. Miscellaneous Essays Relating to the Indian Subjects, Vol. II, London, 1880, pp. 129-30.

evidence in support of his statement. The present writer's investigations appear to confirm the former existence of polyandry among the Newars, as some of the customs among them linger on as survivals. For example, the kinship terms used to designate the husband's brothers are 'Dara-Bhata' and 'Ke(n)-Bhata' which mean 'elder husband' and 'younger husband' suggest in this direction. Further as already stated, while referring to one's conjugal home, a Newar woman says, 'Bhata-Fini-gu-chhe' which implies not 'husband's house' but 'husbands' house' (used in plural). In the 'Benke-gu' ceremony of the child, the recognition of father-hood of the child by placing him on the lap of the father also points out in this direction. Moreover, the customary freedom of a Newar woman for the successive remarriages and divorces also show that this could only be a step forward from the stage of polyandry.

At present the custom of levirate is not practised by the Newars, though its former existence may be ^{not} ruled out. Levirate is now legally prohibited in Nepal. The elder brother's widow occupies a position sentimentally on par with that of the mother and therefore she has to be approached

with reverence. The younger brother's wife is treated on par with the daughters-in-law. Liverate appears to have been, however, a widely prevalent in the former days among all the four Vanras and 36 castes of Nepal. It was prohibited by an order of Gen. Bhimsen Thapa during the first half of the 19th century, who was then Nepal's Prime Minister. In one of his despatches, Bhimsen Thapa referred to the existence of this custom and he had laid down certain punishments for those who practised it.⁴

Marriage among the Newars can be dissolved in two ways. Firstly by resorting to the regular divorce procedure and secondly, by the wife running away with a new lover. Under the system of formal divorce, both the parties mutually agree to break the marriage bond and sign the divorce papers called 'Par-Pachuke-Patra'. But none of the party can effect a divorce by his own unilateral decision. But an alternative method vests enough liberty with the woman to dissolve the marriage-bond. A woman, when dissatisfied with her husband, picks up a lover and runs away to live with him. The prevailing custom recognises only the payment of compensation to the injured

4. Chitranjan Nepali - Bhimsen Thapa (Nepali),
Kathmandu, pp. 203-4.

husband, and not her return to his home. About a century and half ago, according to ~~the~~ Kirkpatrick, the Newar woman was at liberty to divorce one man after another on the slightest pretence.⁵ O'Malley⁶ (1911), while observing in his time stated that the Newar women used to leave their husbands and remarry if her marriage proved uncongenial. The only intimation necessary, he reported, was to place the two betel-nuts in her bed while leaving the house. She was then free to choose another husband. The above two statements still hold good subject to some modification. While the placing of the betel-nuts in the bed as an intimation for the dissolution of marriage is still resorted to, it is no longer a popular feature now. It is confined to the Udas and the Manandhar castes only. O'Malley had further remarked that a woman could undo her marriage-bond by placing two betelnuts on the chest of a dying husband. This practice is also still in existence, but followed only again by the Buddhamargi castes. The writer found three such cases in Kathmandu, two of which relate to Udas caste and one to Chitrakar caste - all of Buddhamargi Newars. Recourse to this practice is taken when the wife is quite

5. Census of India, 1911, Vol. V, Part

p.325(quoted)

6. Ibid.

young and issueless. The placing of betel nuts on the chest of the dying husband frees the woman from the obligation of observing death pollution and mourning for a year. A woman, desiring not to be a widow, finds it an expedient device. On the part of the kin of the deceased also it is much welcomed, since the divorcing wife forfeits her claim to her deceased husband's property. Though this practice is recognised, it has almost fallen into disuse. The rarity of its cases is enough to support this contention. In the village of Panga no one is reported to have followed this practice. Among them, the usual way to divorce is either to sign the divorce papers or to elope with a new lover.

As regards the unrestricted liberty on the part of a woman in abandoning her husbands, one after another, it has been much restricted now. Though the society still recognises such unlimited liberty of Newar women, it has come to be restricted some how under the force of the public opinion. A woman contracting a fourth husband is legally deemed to be on par with a prostitute though socially she retains her status. The third husband, therefore, does not get any compensation if the woman

elopes with a fourthman. This will be clear when we discuss later the amount of compensation required to be paid when a married woman runs away with her new lover.

Divorce is allowed on many grounds such as adultery, barrenness, affliction with incurable and venereal diseases, and incompatibility between the two couples. But most of the divorces that take place among the Newars, it appears, are due to the conflict between her mother-in-law and the bride. A few typical examples which are to follow are quite illustrative of the circumstances that generally lead to regular a divorce or the dissolution of marriage, through the other means.

Case No. 1:

Chandra Bahadur, a Shrestha by caste was married in 1947 at the age of about 25 with a woman of 20. The marriage was arranged by the parents. The couple loved each other very much and lived happily for two years. The wife, however, was alleged to have not been able to pay much attention to her mother-in-law. Consequently, her mother-in-law felt offended and decided to get rid of Mrs. Chandra Bahadur. Without the consent of their son,

the parents sent away the daughter-in-law to her parent's home. Chandra Bahadur could not oppose this step. Mrs. Chandra Bahadur was not called back for about two years. Chandra Bahadur's parents arranged for the second marriage of their son. Hearing this, Mrs. Chandra Bahadur, without heeding for the convention of being called back, returned to her husband's home. Her parents-in-law prevented her from entering the house by bolting the doors. Chandra Bahadur was helpless, though he wanted to open the door. He could not question the authority of his parents. His mother poured down cold water on her daughter-in-law from a window. The police intervened in the matter and caused the door of the house to be opened. Mrs. Chandra Bahadur entered the house. Three days later the divorce papers were signed with mutual consent of both the parties. The divorced woman was living in her parents' house during the time of the enquiry in 1957.

Case No. 2:

Durga Ranjit Kar was married at the age of 22 with a girl of 20. The couple had education respectively upto standards X and VIII. They wanted to live as

progressive couple, enjoying freedom to move about together which militated against the traditional Newar life. The parents of the boy did not like so much freedom, on the part of their daughter-in-law. They, therefore, sent her to her parents' home, never to be called back. Divorce was effected later with the mutual consent of both the parties.

Case No.3:

There is another instance in which the husband was forced to divorce his wife by his parents, on the ground of ^{latter's} neglecting domestic responsibility. Hari Bahadur was married at the age of 25. His wife bore him three children one after two and half years and the second a year later, and the third subsequently after one and half years. By this time the conflict between the wife and her mother-in-law had reached a breaking point. The former was sent to her parents' home and never called back. Hari Bahadur could not oppose this. After a few years, Hari Bahadur's wife went to court praying for a maintenance allowance. The husband told the court that he was prepared to take his wife back with him. Mrs. Hari Bahadur agreed to live with her husband, provided they lived separately from her parents-in-law. Hari Bahadur was not prepared to accept

this condition and the court gave the ruling that the wife should be paid Rs.800.00 every six months till she contracted a second marriage.

Case No.4:

There is the fourth case relating to the dissolution of marriage as a result of the conflict between the wife and her mother-in-law. It was alleged that Nani Chhori was not allowed by her mother-in-law to sleep with her husband. Therefore, she came back to her parents' home. Six months later she was called back by her father-in-law, Nani Chhori was again exposed to the cruelty of her mother-in-law who did not, as usual, allow her to sleep with her husband. Annoyed with her mother-in-law, she came back to her parents' home. The divorce was completed by mutual consent.

Case No.5:

Dwarka was married at the age of 15 with a girl of 14 in 1940. The marriage was negotiated by their parents. Both the families are quite well off, but the couple have

no education. They lived for 12 years quite a happy married life. The wife, however, bore no child. The parents of the Dwarikaman compelled his son to bring a second wife, though it was much against his will. The parents of the first wife, advised their daughter not to create any scene but to proceed with the matter quietly. One day the first wife's parents invited her and their son-in-law to a feast. After the feast, the parents-in-law politely declined to send their daughter to Dwarika's home. They plainly told him, that since he had married a second wife, there was no point sending their daughter with him. Later the divorce was effected. The divorced woman was still living with her parents at the time of the enquiry.

These examples are sufficient to show that the conflict between a woman and her mother-in-law is commonly the cause for a divorce. In such cases, the husbands appear to be powerless against the decision of their parents. A Newari family being traditional in its set up, an individual is unable to revolt against the decision of the elders. The conflict can be understood if we knew the nature of responsibility a bride has to assume in her

conjugal home. In a Newari household very rarely, even if it is quite well off, is a servant employed. Traditional views insist that all the household work should be done by the housewives themselves. Women have to cook, clean the utensils, wash the clothes, fetch water from the street water-taps, and serve all the senior members of the house. These duties generally fall upon the daughters-in-law. The youngest daughter-in-law is the one who is hit the hardest. Apart from these, a daughter-in-law is expected to be always submissive and be at the beck and call of her mother-in-law. Conflict is, therefore, bound to arise, when a daughter-in-law fails to fulfil the roles traditionally expected of her. In such conflicts, it is the mother-in-law who always emerges as a victor, since the sons can hardly have any say, unless they are prepared to leave their parents' home.

While the traditional conflict between her mother-in-law and the wife plays the predominant role for the occurrence of divorces, there are other causes also which lead to such a conflict-situation. One of these is the physical deformity of either of the couple. Dhiraj man, a Jyapoo, was married early at the age of 12 with a girl of 10. They lived together for many years, but the wife

bore no child. Dhirajman's wife suffered from a goitre. The wife was charged with the neglect of household-work and ^{lack} later of etiquette. She was sent back to her parents' home. Dhirajman married another woman. The rejected wife was living in her parents' home at the time of the enquiry.

Another example of marriage dissolution is provided by the case of Damodar. Damodar was married to Shanta Devi from Banepa. They had early marriage. The boy had pox marks all over his face. On attaining maturity, the girl did not like her husband's home. Meanwhile she fell in love with another man with whom she ran away to Palpa (West Nepal). She bore two children to her husband. She was then staying in Kathmandu. Damodar also did not bother about her and has married another wife.

There are cases relating to the dissolution of marriage on the ground that the wife stole property. Of these one relates to Bhaktapur region. Nani (40), a Shreshta woman was married at the age of 12 years to a man. She stopped going to live with her husband after five years, since she was charged with having stolen a golden-ring. Nani's husband was not prepared for a divorce.

Thereupon Nani brought the issue to the court. The court decided in favour of a divorce. Nani was returned all the 'stridhan' according to the list. She too on her part returned all the ornaments given by her husband. After two years, Nani went to live as wife with another Shrestha man. Nani had two sons and three daughters at the time of this enquiry.

The other example is again from a Shrestha family. X was married at the age of 22 in 1942 to a Shrestha woman of 20. The couple lived happily for two years and had a baby. The wife, it was alleged, started stealing the property of her husband. This irritated her husband. He brought another woman as his wife. The first wife also eloped with her lover. The baby was being brought up by its maternal grand-parents.

Quite another important reason for divorce is the conflict between co-wives in a polygamous family. But these are rare since polygamy is itself rare. There are three instances for which complete informations were obtained. In these cases, the woman either goes to live with her parents, preparatory to a divorce by mutual

consent or ^{took} takes to a second husband resulting into automatic dissolution of the marriage.

From the few representative examples of marriage dissolution given above, it would be seen that it is easier for a Newar individual to break the marriage bond by the unilateral decision of either of the parties. The husband is, however, granted divorce only on the ground of adultery. If he fails to make out a case for adultery, he is unable to obtain a divorce, unless his wife consents. So he sends his wife away to her parents' home never to be called back. The wife has thus no choice but either to live a life of enforced separation or submit to her husband's proposal to a divorce. Some adamant wife may oppose the divorce and force the husband to pay maintenance cost.

On the wife's side, divorce is far easier. When she is intent upon abandoning her husband, she can not be prevented from it. If the regular divorce is not possible due to the refusal by her husband, she elopes with her new lover, which has the effect of automatically dissolving the marriage.

When a woman leaves her husband and takes to another one, such agrieved husband is entitled to compensation from his rival. Such expenses are fixed by law and vary from caste to caste. The following is the amount of marriage cost fixed in respect of a few selected castes of Kathmandu.

Malla Newar	Rs. 80.00
Shrestha	Rs. 60.00
Vanra & Udas	Rs. 40.00
Jyapoos	Rs. 81.00
Other lower castes	Rs. 12.00

The principle of fixing the amount is, it is stated, based on a number of Lakha and not on the actual cost of the marriage. The payment is calculated at the rate of Rs.2.00 per Lakha sweat. But the above amounts are flat amounts fixed by the government, though these also imply the return of the Lakha-sweat. The amount of compensation decreases by half according to the number of husbands a woman has left. Thus if a woman takes to a second husband after leaving the first one, the first husband gets the full Lakha compensation. But the second husband gets half the amount what he would have paid to

his predecessor, if the woman takes to a third husband. But the third husband gets nothing, if the woman leaves him also and takes to a fourth one. For, such a woman is legally treated as a prostitute and no compensation is admissible on her account. It may be remarked here that so long as the woman does not violate the caste endogamy, the frequent change of husband does not affect her social and legal status, though she may be much looked down upon by the society.

Whether a marriage is dissolved through the regular divorce or by desertion, a woman is always entitled to her 'Stridhan' which was given to her on her marriage by her parents, relatives and friends. She has, however, to return the ornaments given to her by her divorced or deserted husband. A Newar woman always maintains a list of such 'stridhan', a duplicate copy of which is retained by her parents.

In the event of the dissolution of marriage, the children always belong to the father. If a child is too young to be separated from its mother, it is allowed, by mutual consent, to be reared by the mother in which case the divorced father must defray the cost. The prevailing

law is that the child remains with the mother till the age of 12 and is then returned to the father.

Many women due to the fear of the loss of respectability, especially when they are of quite advanced in age, do not desire to marry again. Such women are entitled to a maintenance allowance so long as they do not remarry. The minimum maintenance allowance fixed in kind and cash includes daily two 'Manas' of rice and other necessary food material on a proportionate basis, two sets of clothes per year and a fixed amount of cash depending on the economic status of her husband.

In spite of such freedom for the dissolution of marriage, Many Newar woman do not like to break the marriage-bond. Her sentiments and love for her unkind husband may be judged from her attempt to compromise and her disinclination to leave him. Evidence of this can be provided by the description of the 'Aba-Sa(ng)', a penance which is undertaken by a wife with a view to making a final attempt at re-union. When the wife is living in her parents' home, on account of her not being called back by her husband, she tries to manifest her deep affections

toward her husband by fasting. A certain place of worship or a temple is selected to start the fast. It is observed either in the month of Sravan or Kartik. The inhabitants of Kathmandu observe this fast during 'Sravan', while the inhabitants of Patan, Kirtipur, Choubar, Panga and Naigam prefer the month of 'Kartik'.

The important temples which these wives choose for the purpose include 'Adinath' at Chauhar, 'Bungadeya' at the bank of Bungamati river, the 'Pasupati' at the bank of Bagmati and the 'Swayambhu' temple. During the period of fasting they lie down on the ground and live on a diet of three palmfuls of water. On the sixth day their husbands are expected to come to fetch them back. A husband who comes to fetch his wife holds a grand feast at the temple in which all his 'Fukee' relatives are invited to participate; the wife is then brought back in a procession. If the husband does not turn up on the sixth day, the fasting wife is taken back by her parents who hold a similar feast for their own kinsmen. Thereafter the rejected wife is considered as a free woman and can marry any body whom she likes. No compensation can be claimed by her failing

husband when such a remarriage takes place. The failure of her husband to come to fetch his wife is regarded by the Newars as a failure to honour the marriage contract and therefore, the marriage is treated as dissolved. Last year (1958) there were reported to be twenty such married women observing the 'Aba-sa(n)' at the Adinath temple alone. They belonged to the adjoining regions of Patan, Chaubar, Panga, Kirtipur and Naigam.

Let us now proceed to examine the data regarding remarriage, divorce, desertion and widowhood.

TABLE I

	Males		Females		Total	
	No. of persons	percen- tage	No. of persons	Percen- tage	No. of persons	Percen- tage
Married once	256	72.6	324	85.0	580	79.2
Divorced but not remarried	7	1.9	1	0.2	8	1.0
Deserted but not remarried	6	1.7	38	9.9	44	6.00
Remarried after the failure of marriage	84	23.8	18	4.9	102	13.8
Total number of married persons	353	100.0	381	100.0	734	100.0

Of the total 353 married men and 381 married women, only 13.8 per cent of them have remarried. The majority of them (79.2 per cent) are leading an unbroken married life. As between the two sexes, men seem to form a higher percentage (23.8) to their married total than women (4.9). Even if we include the 38 women in the sample, who have been living in their parents' home, owing to the failure of their husbands to call them back, such combined percentage comes to 14.8 only. That is to say, that the men are more affected by the dissolution of the first marriage, than the women. This clearly shows that the women, in spite of their customary privilege of the continual remarriage, do not show a high incidence.

The average^{ages} of these remarried men and women were 48 years and 37 years respectively at the time of enquiry. The average age at first marriage of these husbands works out to 17 years, while their average age at remarriage is 24. Thus it seems that ^{the} remarriage of these persons have taken place after about 7 years of the first marriage.

With regard to the causes of remarriage, most of the men (50.6 per cent) have remarried because of the death of the spouse. The incidence of polygamy is as low as 9.4 per cent. In the majority of these polygamous marriages, the ground was the failure of the wife to bear a child.

TABLE II

Causes of Remarriage	Males		Females	
	No. of persons	Percent- tage	No. of persons	Percent- age.
Due to death of the spouse	42	50.6	2	11.1
After divorcing the first spouse	12	14.1	7	38.9
After the women had eloped	22	25.9	9	50.0
Polygamous marriage	8	9.4	-	-
Total remarried persons	84	100.0	18	100.0

Standing divorces work out to only one per cent of the total married persons. As between the men and women, the latter appear again to be hardly significant. But it is

more than offset by the high percentage of women who are living separated from their husbands without any prospect of being called back. Such women form 9.9 per cent of their married total. As against this, the percentage of men whose wives left them comes to 1.7. On the whole, divorce and desertion both together form a percentage of 3.6 per men and 10.1 for women to their respective sexwise totals. Thus these go to support our earlier contention that the Newars do not now too frequently avail of the customary privileges of divorce and remarriage.

While simultaneous multiple marriages of men are rare and can be mostly accounted for the failure of the first wife to bear a child, successive multiple marriages have been a feature of the Newars. Of the total 84 men who were recorded as living with subsequent spouses, as many as 61 men are found with their second wives only, 14 with third wives and one with the fourth. In all these cases, the majority (50.6 per cent) had to contract marriages as we have already seen, owing to the death of the first wives.

As regards the 18 remarried women, none of them is in the sample, found living with a third husband. Although some instances of wives living with the husband beyond the second one have been cited from the other sources in the beginning, the absence of such wives in the sample substantiate our earlier contention of its rarity. Women do not like to change their husbands so frequently since it has come to be looked down upon. The present attitude of the men towards chastity may be judged from the fact that one Manandhar is reported to have sent away his newly married wife to her parents' home when he discovered that she was ^{already} carrying. The Jyapoos of Panga also emphasise upon the fact that a woman should take a husband only once. The story of Naga Queen narrated in the beginning of the Chapter is also indicative of the high value, the Newars set upon ^{the} chastity of a women.

Coming to the discussion of the widowed persons, there are 31 widowed men and 69 widows in the sample. Their percentages to the total 553 married men and 381 married women come to 9.6 and 18.1 respectively. Of such widowed persons, there are only 19 widows below the age

of 45 years, the youngest widow is in the age group of 20-24 years. The average age of these widowers and widows are respectively 49.68 years and 52.98 years. Thus it is quite obvious that among the people who recognise remarriage of the women, widows should be found in the higher age-groups. As compared to Panga sample, the Kathmandu sample shows more widows in the younger age categories. In Panga there is only one widow who is below the age of 34 while in Kathmandu there are six in this age group. This is again due to the influence of the Gorkhas; but it does not mean that these young widows would not marry. The influence of the Gorkhas is reflective merely in the reluctance to marry the second time, which is by no means barred altogether.

The traditional Newar family is a patrilineal joint household consisting of the descendents of several generations under the common arrangement of cooking and joint ownership of property under one single head. The joint family grows with the addition of sons' wives and their children. It may be interesting to give in what follows a few examples of such joint families.

There is the joint family, for instance, in Kathmandu whose head is Machhe Narain, a Manandhar by caste. It consists of forty members including three generations - father, sons, sons' sons and their children. Originally this household was of a much bigger size comprising as many members as 120. It was recently split into three component parts when Machhe Narain's other two brothers set up their own separate households. The reason advanced for the splitting up of the original joint household was that it was too unwieldy to live together. Machhe Narain is very rich and holds a high post in the Government.

Another example of large sized joint household is again reported from Kathmandu. It belongs to the Jyapoo caste and is reported to comprise of 70 members. A third example is from the town of Pokhara to the west of the Valley of Nepal. Chandra Bahadur, a businessman and a Shrestha by caste, reported that his household had formerly comprised ^{the descendants of} as many as thirteen generations. It was so unmanageable that very recently the elders among them agreed to break it into smaller component units. A fourth example is again from the same town. This household

also belonged to a Shrestha man, Ramkrishna by name. It consisted of about 100 members. In the Valley of Kathmandu such large sized joint families are not uncommon to meet with. Whenever financial position is good, a Newar is inclined to be fond of living in the traditional type of joint family. In this respect they present a similarity with the Tharus of the Tarai, their neighbours, but differ from the Gorkhas. The Gorkhas have a tendency to set up a separate household after the marriage of all the brothers. Supposing a Gorkha has four sons. After the marriages of all of his sons, he will ask them to have their own separate households after partitioning the property equally among them and retaining his own share. He and his wife live in the household of one of the sons. After his death, his share of property is equally divided among the sons.

The large sized Newari households as stated earlier is now a days, declining gradually. Only in the case of rich people do we come across such big households. The more common pattern of household at present seems to be that of consisting a man, his wife, his unmarried daughters and ~~his~~ several of his married sons with their wives and children. Sometimes a polygamous household may

consist of two or more lineal households as mentioned above strung together during the life time of such poligamous father. The present trend of smaller size of household can be attributed to many factors, chief among which is the tendency to break away from the joint family, after the death of the father or in his own life time. The cause leading to such a break up is more often than not the incompatibility between the housewives, and sometimes, lack of enough accommodation in the house. This results in the mutual agreement among the brothers to separate. Each brother then sets up his own joint household with his married sons, and in due course, each becomes again a large sized household through the marriages of the grandsons. Generally, in the life time of a father, the married sons may not separate, as the division of property cannot take place without the consent of the father whose authority is unquestioned.

It may be remarked here that the nature of the Newari joint family has the specific characteristic of being distinct from the normal Hindu joint family. Despite residential and property separation, several joint families act as a single unit for purposes of social and ceremonial

functions whether domestic or communal. We have already seen this in their ceremonies when the ceremonial leadership is assumed by the Thakali and his wife.

Let us now proceed to examine the data collected regarding the Newar family. For this purpose we have data relating to 224 sample families from the Valley of Kathmandu which include two singletons. The data are drawn from both the urban area of Kathmandu and the rural area of Panga. Of the total sample families, 168 are from the first region and the remaining 55 from Panga. The Kathmandu sample relate to the five castes.- Vanra, Shresthas, Udas, Jyapoo and Manandhar. The Panga sample includes only two castes - the Shresthas and the Jyapoos. Such a disparity in the number of castes included in the two samples is due to the fact that most of the Newar castes are clustered in the towns.

There are limited number of castes who live in the rural regions. The rural region in fact is predominantly occupied by the Jyapoo caste with Shresthas following next.

TABLE III-A

Kathmandu Sample
(169 families)

Graduation of family.	No. of persons in the family	No. of families	Percentage
Singleton	1	1	0.60
Very small	2 to 3	25	14.80
Small	4 to 6	63	37.28
Medium	7 to 12	63	37.28
Big	13 to 20	10	5.92
Very big	21 and over	7	4.14
Total		169	100.02

Of the 169 households from Kathmandu, as much as 74.56 per cent families are of small and medium size. Households consisting of two to three members has a low proportion. Big and very big families are also not so frequent. The usual size of the family in Kathmandu, therefore, appears to be ^{consisting} of members from 4 to 12. Excluding the singleton, there are 285 adult males and 302 adult

females; 46 old aged males and 40 old aged females; 311 boys and male infants and 284 girls and female infants. The average number of persons living per household is 7.55. The adults average 3.49 per unit and the non-adults average 3.54 per unit and the old aged 0.51.

Coming to Panga sample it will be seen from the following table that here again the majority of households consists of 4 to 12 members. Here, 75.55 per cent persons live in such households. This indicates that the percentage of members living in this type of households is a little higher in the rural area than in the urban area. In Panga

TABLE III-B

Panga Sample
(55 families)

Gradation of family	No. of per- sons in the family	No. of families	Percentage
Singleton	1	1	1.82
Very small	2 to 3	11	20.00
Small	4 to 6	22	40.00
Medium	7 to 12	19	35.55
Big	13 to 20	2	3.64
Very big	21 and over	-	-
Total	-	55	100.00

the tendency is, however, comparatively towards the smaller size of households. There is, however, one solitary example of a household comprising of 24 members. This household belongs to a Jyapoo who is financially well off. The disintegrating tendency of large sized household in Panga, it would appear, is due to the poor economic status of the people. Excluding the singleton, there are 82 adult males and 72 adult females, 22 old aged males and 21 old aged females and 66 boys and male infants and 74 girls and female infants. The average number of persons per household is 6.24. The adults average 2.85 persons per unit and the non-adults, 2.59 persons per unit and old aged 0.79 persons per unit. This Panga shows comparatively more dependants in the old age group as compared to Kathmandu sample. The largest unit of household is that of the Shrestha caste (8.98 persons per unit) to be followed next by the Manandhars. The Jyapoo has the smallest unit of the household. On the whole, from the point of view of average, the persons per house in the urban area of Kathmandu is more than in the rural region.

But numerical strength alone is not sufficient to throw light on the composition of the family. The range

of relationship as encompassed by the members of the household is the important angle for the study of the family. What are the types of family from the point of view of relationship? With a view to making such a study the sample families (after excluding the two singletons) have been classified into three major types according to the relationship among the members living in the households. These are (A) Nuclear, (B) Intermediate and (C) Joint. Each of these major types have been further divided into sub-types in the following manner:

(A) Nuclear: It includes four sub-types:

- i) Normal family: consisting of husband, wife and unmarried issues;
- ii) Incomplete family: Husband and wife without issues;
- iii) Broken family: Father or mother with unmarried issues.

(B) Intermediate Family: This type of family is neither Nuclear ~~and~~ nor joint. It includes such families which consist of one of the parents living with a married son and other unmarried issues; or married man with his unmarried brothers and sisters. Such families have been divided into three sub-types.

1) Vertical family:

Father or mother with unmarried children.

ii) Horizontal:

Man, his wife and unmarried brothers and sisters.

iii) Both-Ways:

Father ^{or} and mother with married son and other unmarried brothers and sisters.

(C) Joint Family:

Lastly joint family means two or more nuclear families both on the vertical and horizontal plane. It presupposes a condition of the commonness of residence, cooking and common ownership of property. Such families have been divided into four sub-types:

1) Vertical Family:

Parents with married son (with or without other issues).

ii) Horizontal Family:

Married brothers.

iii) Both-Ways:

Parents or either of the parents with married sons with or without issues (lineal descendants)

iv) Ortho-Cousins (Married or not) living together after the death of the father or father's brother with married brothers.

Analysing the total 222 sample families (excluding the two singletons) the percentages of the nuclear and joint families are equal.

TABLE IV

Types of Families	KATHMANDU		PANGA		TOTAL	
	No. of Families	Percentage	No. of Families	Percentage	No. of Families	Percentage
Nuclear	79	47.02	24	44.44	103	46.40
Intermediate	12	7.14	4	7.41	16	7.20
Joint	77	45.83	26	48.15	103	46.40
Total	168	100.00	54	100.00	222	100.00

As between Panga and Kathmandu, there is a slight difference in the incidence of joint family, the proportion being a little higher in the former case.

Considering the family composition of Panga castes, 62.50 per cent of the Shrestha families are joint, while the Jyapoo families are joint to the extent of only 44.68 per cent. Economically the Shresthas are much better off. The Manandhar caste shows the highest percentage (58.82) of jointness of their family and the Jyapoos, the lowest.

Castewise analysis does not show any progressive increase of the incidence of joint family from the rural region to the urban region as we have noticed in the case of household membership. On the contrary, both the castes, namely, the Shresthas and the Jyapoos show a disintegrating tendency of the joint family when we move from the rural region of Panga to the urban region of Kathmandu. This appears to reverse the conclusion reached earlier. Such a reversing tendency is primarily due to the Jyapoos. They are comparatively poorer as compared to their counterparts in Panga. Their status as casual labourers is rather low and perhaps it is also a factor in their having smaller size of joint family. The cultural influence of the non-Newars, principally of the Gorkhas are also bound to affect the family set up of the poor Newars. Such an influence is, however, non-existent in the village of Panga where the Gorkhas are in a microscopic minority and, therefore, do not exercise enough influence on the day to day life of the Newars.

It is, however, the proportion of persons served by the joint family that is significant, because it reveals the extent to which the individual member's life is affected

by one type or another type of the family. If we, therefore, analyse the family from this point of view, we find that as much as 64.70 per cent of the members in the 222 sample families live in joint families. The members living in Nuclear families is even less than half the strength of the members living under joint families. Here again we see that in the rural region of Panga, the strength of the members living in joint families is greater by 1.65 per cent than that in the Kathmandu town. But if we exclude the Jyapoos from consideration in the sample of Kathmandu, we notice that the strength of members living in joint families in Kathmandu is as high as 71.60 per cent.

TABLE V

Type of Family	Kathmandu		Panga		Total	
	No. of persons	Percentage	No. of persons	Percentage	No. of persons	Percentage
Nuclear	392	31.50	100	29.76	492	30.75
Intermediate	55	4.25	18	5.34	73	4.55
Joint	821	64.25	219	65.90	1040	64.70
Total	1268	100.00	337	100.00	1605	100.00

Thus it is clear that the lower percentage of the strength of the membership in joint families in Kathmandu is due to the Jyapoos. Otherwise, the tendency of increase from rural to urban area is clearly maintained. We may, therefore, conclude that after making due allowance for the Jyapoos as a factor for lowering down the proportion of joint families in the Urban area owing to their low economic status, the jointness of family is stronger in the urban area of Kathmandu as compared to rural region.

Of the total 70^j nuclear families (vide statement X) in the Kathmandu sample, as many as 59 families belong to sub-types, 'normal and incomplete'. These consist of husband, wife, unmarried issues or without issues. The percentage of these to the total 222 sample families comes to 45.12. Among these there are two families which include either a married daughter or her daughter. As against such data of the Kathmandu sample, there are 20 family units in the Panga sample. It constitutes a percentage of 36.04 of the total families of Panga. We, therefore, see that the majority of the members living in nuclear families are covered by the relationship of husband, wife, children and either of the parents.

The majority of the Intermediate type of families appear to be consisting of either of the parents, with one married issue or all other unmarried issues. Its percentage is 75 to the total families under this type. The family units consisting of man, wife and his unmarried brothers has a percentage as low as 25. In the Panga sample, there is not even one single family consisting of a married man with his unmarried brothers.

The degree of relationship in the joint family reveals that the majority of families are of the third sub-type. It includes parents, married sons, ~~grand~~ married *granc* sons, and their issues. The coverage of generation is generally three to four. In Kathmandu sample such family units account for as much as 55.84 per cent of the total joint families in that sample. The corresponding figure for the region of Panga is 65.38 per cent. The second major type of joint family consists of parents and married sons with or without issues. In Kathmandu this type accounts for 22.08 per cent of its total joint families, while in Panga such figure comes to 15.38 per cent.

From the above analysis of families, it is revealed that though the traditional type of family

consisting of the descendants of several generations as stated earlier has become rare, the Newars still live predominantly in joint families. The usual joint family is of three to four generations. Leaving the Jyapoos out, the comparison of the two samples of Kathmandu and Panga reveals that the tendency towards joint family is more in the urban area than in the rural region. Well-to-do Newars always prefer to live under joint family. The greater incidence of Nuclear family among the Jyapoos is due to the fact that their economic condition is rather worse.

The question arises in what manner does the Newari family differ from the one which is found in India and elsewhere. The jointness or non-jointness of a family is generally examined from three view points: common ownership of property, common kitchen and common residence, and a single head of the family. We have tabulated our data on the basis of these factors. Judging from these points of view a Newari joint family does not differ from the common joint family in India. There are, however, some features which distinguish the Newar joint family from its counterpart found elsewhere. Among these one

relates to the ownership of property. Among the Newars even the property or wealth amassed by an individual by his own individual labour is considered as joint property. For example, if a Newar belonging to a joint family goes to some distant land and earns wealth by his own labour, such wealth does not belong to him alone, but to the joint family as a whole. At the time of partition, this property is also taken into account.

It is, however, the ceremonial jointness that makes a Newar joint family to look something different from the common type of joint family found in India. Viewed from this angle, the head of a joint family does not have the privilege of being the leader. The jointness in this sense is extended over a much larger circle. It is the Thakali of the Dewali Guthi or in his absence, the eldest male member among the collateral families, who assumed the ceremonial leadership.

As regards Nuclear family, its usual features such as separate cooking, separate residence and separate ownership of property are no doubt found. But it overlooks again the same important point of ritual performance by

by which the solidarity of several component families is maintained, though they are nuclear in other sense. In times of domestic ceremonies or functions, the head of the Nuclear family is replaced either by the Thakali of the Dewali Guthi or by the eldest male member among the component units. In this sense the Newar nuclear family differs from the one usually found in India.

As regards the causes for the breakdown of the joint family there are many. One major cause is the conflict among the wives. This conflict is attributable to the traditional expectation from a daughter-in-law to be able to fulfil her role. As already stated elsewhere a Newar household rarely keeps a servant or a cook. Only a few families overlook this traditional practice and employ a domestic servant. But even in their cases, cooking must be done by their own housewives. The entire burden of work, as already stated, from washing to cooking and fetching water from the street tap is the responsibility of the daughter-in-law. Her true worth lies in the fulfilment of such traditional duties. When the size of household is great, the vigour of such responsibility is also great.

The unmarried daughters of the house are not expected to do the work since the traditional way of thinking assigns it to the daughters-in-law only. The conflict takes two patterns. More often than not, it is the conflict between a woman and her mother-in-law; and sometimes it is the quarrel among the wives of brothers themselves that lead to the break of the joint family. When the conflict becomes beyond control, the household is broken into its component units by mutual agreement.

Education is, however, not a factor for the breaking of the joint family. There is not one single person in the nuclear families of the Panga sample who has even primary education. On the other hand, many of the persons in the Kathmandu sample who live in joint houses are highly educated, and the tendency to live jointly is stronger among them. The conflict situation is no doubt made much more sharpened if some of the wives living in joint families are educated. Being educated, such wives are unable to adjust themselves to the traditional set up and as such, they instigate their respective husbands to live separately.

In the rural region like Panga, however, the conflict among housewives leading to the setting of separate households is more due to poor economic condition than due to the conflict of personality. Being poor every man thinks in terms of a separate household. Since he has to share a major portion of income with others, if he continues to live in the joint family. Here again the housewives are the main persons who encourage their respective husbands break with the joint family. Another cause for the break of the joint family as we have noted in the beginning, is the lack of space. But this does not lead to any friction. It is rather solved by mutual consent among the brothers to live separately.

III

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In order to describe and explain the Kinship terms of the Newars, let us start with the basic familial unit from which all relationships emanate. The terms used for these relatives are 'Bhata' (husband), 'Kala' (wife), 'Abu' or 'Bwa' (father), 'Daju' or 'Ara' (elder brother), 'Kija' (younger brother), 'Tata' (elder sister), 'Kehen' (younger sister), 'Kaye' (son) and 'Mhyaye' (daughter). All of these terms barring those for brother and sister are elementary and individualising. The terms for brothers and sisters are not only used for designating ego's own brother and sister, but also for those who stand to the ego in such relationship. Further, a distinction is made between the elder and the younger brother.

If we go upward in the grand father's generation, father's father is designated by the term 'Aja', a term which also is current in Marathi and Hindi. An alternative term 'Baje' or 'Bajya' is also used side by side, rather say the term Baje or Bajya is more in vogue. Both of the terms 'Aja' and 'Bajya' or 'Baje' do not have any base

with the term for father and, therefore, appear to stand on their own. The term for the lineal grand mother is either Aji or Bajai. These terms are the feminine derivatives from the term for grandfather. The terms used for the lineal grand-parents are also applied to designate mother's parents. These terms are, therefore, classificatory, elementary, and derivative^{also} in case of the terms for the grand mother.

Going still upward, we meet the lineal relative of the third ascendant generation. The male lineal relative i.e. great-grand-father is called Tapa-Aja or Tapa-Bajya. These are clearly seen to be the derivatives from the term for grand-father with the prefix 'Tapa' which means distant. The terms for great grand mother is 'Tappa-Aji' or Tapa Bajai, the feminine derivative from the terms for great grand mother. The grand parents of one's mother are also designated by these terms. Similarly in the fourth ascendent generation, the great^{great-}grand-parents are designated as 'Ghain-ghain-Aja' or 'ghain-ghain-Bajya'. About a century and a half ago, the term for great great-grand parents were 'Iya-Ajhaju',⁷ 'ju' being a term for respect.

7. Wright, D. - Op. cit. p. 301.

Moving downward in the second descendant generation, we meet the lineal grand-children. In contrast to the treatment given to the lineal relatives of the second ascendant generation and upward, these relatives are designated by a single term 'chhai' without making any distinction not only between son's son and daughter's son, but also between the two sexes. All are referred to as a class irrespective of their sex.

Moving still downward a similar classificatory term is used. Thus the persons of the third descendant generation are 'chhai'; of the fourth, 'Wie; and ^{of} the fifth, 'Kwi'. In the treatment of these descendants, the principle involved is not only what Lowie and Kirchhoff call 'generation' ^{7a} but also non-bifurcation of sex.

Analysing the terms of collaterals we find that first degree collaterals in the first descendant generation are father's brother/s and father's sister on the father's side and mother's brother and mother's sister on the mother's side. Of them, the father's brother is identified as among the other Nepalese, with father by using the descriptive-derivative terms 'Tari-Bwa' (elder father), and 'chiri-Bwa' (younger father), these being derived from the term for

7^a Ghurye, G.S., *Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture*, 1955
p. 3.

father. An alternative term Kaka is also side by side used to denote the father's younger brother. The mother's sisters who are termed as 'Tari-Ma' and 'Chiri-Ma' are identified with the mother as it will be seen that the terms for them are derived from the term for mother. The terms used for designating the father's brother are also applied to the husbands of the mother's sister and the terms for mother's sisters are applied to the wives of the father's brother. Therefore these terms are classificatory and derivative. The father's sister and mother's brother are, however, respectively designated by the individualising terms 'Neeni' and 'Paju', not derivable from any of the primary terms. The differential treatment given to the father's sister and mother's brother is also reflected in their social function which we have been described in the chapter on ceremonies.

Similarly the collaterals in the second ascendant generation and upward are designated by the classificatory and descriptive terms. In each of the ascendant generations, such relatives are designated by a compound term derived from combining the terms for one's own collateral in the father's generation with the term used for the lineal of that particular generation in question. As for example the *father's*

father's ^{is} ~~brother's~~ ^{bro} 'Tari-Aja' or 'Tari-Bajya' and 'Chiri-Aja' or 'Chiri-Bajya' and father's father's sister is 'Neeni Aji'. The same terms are also applied to designate the collaterals of the ascendant generations on the mother's side.

The first degree collateral in the first descendant generation are the children of the brother and sister. A man differentiates his son (Kayə) and daughter (Mhyaye) from that of his brothers (Kayecha and Mhyacha), by using the suffix 'Cha'. The terms for brother's children are thus derived from the terms for one's own son and daughter. The ego more or less identifies his brother's children with those of his own, but differentiates his sister's children from them. He applies a single term 'Bhinchā' to designate his sister's children ignoring sex difference. A woman applies these terms in reverse. She calls her sister's son and daughter as 'Kayecha' and 'Mhyacha' but her brother's children as 'Bhinchā'.

As regards affineal relatives, the treatment adopted in the use of kinship terms by a man is different from that by a woman. There are no elementary terms to

designate a man's or woman's affineal relatives. The terms used for designating these relatives are the very terms used for the consanguineal relatives with the addition of the suffixes which serve as a means of distinction. By compounding the term 'Sasa' with the term for his consanguineal relatives, ^{Ego}the_I designates all of his affineal relatives. Thus a man's father-in-law is 'Sasa-Bwa', mother-in-law is 'Sasa-Ma', wife's father's sister is 'Sasa-Neeni', wife's mother's brother is 'Sasa-Faju', wife's sister is 'Sasa-Tata' or 'Sasa-Kehan', wife's brother is 'Sasa-Daju' or 'Sasa-Kija' wife's sister's son and daughter are respectively 'Sasa-Kaije' and 'Sasa-Mhga²', but wife's brother's son and daughter are designated by a single term 'Sasa-Bhinchu' ignoring sex difference.

A woman, on the other hand, does not use the prefix 'Sasa' in respect of her affineal relatives. She designates all of her affineal relatives in the ascendant generations by the very terms used for them by her husband for whom they are consanguineal. But unlike her husband, she uses the suffix 'Ju' in this respect. For example, husband's parents are respectively called 'Ba-ju' and 'Ma-ju'; husband's father's brother are called 'Tari-Baju' and 'Kaka-Baju'; husband's father's sister is called 'Neeni-Maju'. Similarly husband's grand parents are called as 'Aja-ju'

and 'Ajima ju' and great grand parents as 'Tapa-Aja-ju' and 'Tapa-Ajima-ju'. For her, all of these affineal relatives are to be respected and, therefore, she uses the suffix 'ju' for such purposes.

With regard to the affineal relatives in the husband's generation, she treats them on a different footing. For these relatives she uses the descriptive-derivative terms tracing relationship with them through her husband. Husband's elder brother is 'Dara-Bhata,' husband's younger brother is 'Kija-Bhata', husband's elder sister is 'Ta-Bhata', and husband's younger sister is 'Kehaj-Bhata'. The distinction made between husband's elder brother and younger brother and elder sister and younger sister is conditioned by the behaviour expected of the woman. Those who are senior to her husband in age have to be respected and those who are junior have to respect her. The distinction is also the outcome of the social function which a woman has to fulfil in accordance with the seniority or juniority of her age-status in the family.

The kinship terms used by a wife to designate her affineal relatives in the descendant generations are the same as used by her husband for whom these relatives

are consanguineal.

From the foregoing discussion we arrive at the following broad features of the kinship terminology of the Newars:

i) In the treatment of the lineal relatives in the second ascendant generation and upward the terms are not based on the term for father. But the terms for the lineal relatives in the third ascendant generations and upward are based on the terms for grand father, Aja. The terms which designate the relatives on the father's side are also applied to the similar relatives on the mother's side. The collaterals in these generations are referred to by compounding the terms for the lineals in that generation with the terms for collaterals in the father's generation.

ii) In the second descendant generation and downward, there is not only the merging of the collaterals with the lineal, but also there is no distinction between the two sexes. The terms for the relatives of each generation is fully classificatory.

iii) The terms for the father's generation is individualising and descriptive. Father's brother, Mother's brother, father's sister and mother's sister are distinguished

from one another. But the terms for father's brother are derived from the term for father and the terms for the mother's sister are derived from the term for mother.

iv) In the ego's generation the terms for the brother and sister are classificatory.

v) In the children's generation the ego and his sister differentiate his or her children from those of the other. This is done by using the classificatory term 'Bhinchā', by a woman to designate the children of her brother and by a man to designate his sister's children.

It has been contended that kinship terms are not mere linguistic phenomena, but they have social significance. They are said to reflect not only the present pattern of social behaviour but also the past nature of the social structure. Having regard to this statement, let us now proceed to examine the nature of the Newari kinship terms.

To start again with the basic familial unit, the term 'Bhata' for husband is a term having its affinity with

the Hindi and Bengali term 'Bhatar' for husband. On the other hand it shows linguistic affinity with the Prakrit term 'Bhatta'⁸ or Sanskrit term 'Bhartr'.⁹ In one of the Newar folk-songs the term used for husband is Bhalta.¹⁰ If the latter term is taken to be the older Newari term for husband then it shows that an affinity would be difficult with Prakrit.

In Sanskrit, 'Bhartr' is taken to mean supporter.¹¹

The present Newari term Bhata conveys a similar idea by virtue of the husband's position in relation to his wife. The adoption of Bhata to the exclusion of an alternative term 'Pati' fits in the Newar's traditional conception of marriage. To a Newar woman, we have seen, her husband is always a supporter and not a master in the true sense of the term 'Pati'. The institution of marriage and divorce points out in this direction. A woman could be free in the past and is still theoretically free to change her husband without being ex-communicated by the society. We have earlier noted that her husband cannot lay a claim on her, if she desires to do so. Her deserted husband can only demand the marriage cost.

8. Ghurye, G.S. - *Family & Kin in Indo-European Culture*, 1956, p. 219

9. *Ibid.*

10. Caldfield, H.A. - *History of Nepal*, Cambridge, 1870, p. 310.

11. Ghurye, G.S. - *Op. cit.* p. 219.

The term used for the wife is Kala (Laximi). There does not again appear to exist a Newari term for wife. The Bhatgaon lower class Newars, however, use the term 'Misa' as a substitute for Kala. But Misa is a generic term for woman. May we, therefore, suggest that before the term Kala came to be adopted the term 'Misa' was the term employed to designate a wife?

Kala appears to show linguistic affinity with the Sanskrit term Kalatra. Among the Newars Kala is etymologically taken to mean the goddess of wealth. The identification of wife with the goddess of wealth is consistent with the traditional view regarding the higher status of a woman. As Laximi is never stable so also is a woman. This is accepted at least in theory by the Newars. This has perhaps led the Newars to take a lenient view of a wife's going to live with another husband. We have stated elsewhere that in the former days a woman coming to live with her eighth husband, after leaving the previous seven, used to be called 'Sapta Laximi' and she used to be much welcomed in the house. Though the jealousy of the males would no longer tolerate now such infidelity on the part of a woman, the traditional belief still exists.

The privileged position of the wife apart from the alleged freedom she enjoys regarding sex and moral is also reflected in the ceremonies and functions. Chief among these, is the welcome accorded to her at the entrance when she enters her husband's home for the first time. We have noticed that she is led into the house through the 'Lasa-Kusa' ceremony just as the Dewali deity is conducted into the house after the 'Digu-Deya' annual worship. Further, the fact that her mother-in-law makes the ceremonial handing over of the key of the house to the bride, speaks of her high status. It signifies that the management of the house is now the responsibility of the bride.

The traditional social value woven round the term Kala is, however, not reflected in the day to day behaviour. A wife is always regarded subordinate to her husband. She is expected to place her head on her husband's feet and drink water in which he has dipped his toes. While addressing her husband, she is not expected to call him by his name, but she uses the addressive or descriptive term 'Hala' which is connotative of respect and her acceptance of his superiority. If there is a child by him, she addresses him as the father of so and so. The husband, on his part always,

also assumes as being superior. He addresses her 'eh' showing that he is superior to her and if he has a child by her he addresses her as mother of so and so. The addressive terms used respectively by the husband and the wife, though not etymologically reflective of their present status, are yet connotative of their mutual behaviour, since they are couched in such tones.

Apart from such behaviour, the rights and obligations which a wife has, also emphasize the superior position of the husband. A wife's status in ceremonies and rituals is counted on the basis of her husband's position. A widow is always regarded as something inauspicious and a woman loses her former ceremonial rights and privileges on her husband's death. The example in this respect is provided by the Thakali Naki. So long as the Thakali is alive, his wife, irrespective of her own age, becomes the chief lady of the clan, Thakali Naki. On the death of her husband her functions are transferred to the wife of another person who becomes the new Thakali. In matters of inheritance, the wife is always dependant on her husband. She has the right to share in the property of the family through her husband. Her husband can dispose of the property without

entertaining any of her claims. She has the right only to her 'stridhan' which she brings from her parents' home. The position of a Newar wife, therefore, does not materially differ at present from that of the Gorkhas, except in matters of divorce and remarriage.

The term 'Abu' and 'Bwa' for father appears to have affinity with the Nepali term 'Ba' or 'Babu'. They also show some phonetic resemblance with the Tamang term 'Ava' for father. We cannot, however, decide whether from 'Ava' the Newari terms Abu and Bwa have been derived. In the good old days the terms 'Bwa' or Abu' ^{were} ~~are~~, however, not to be found, at least in so far as the available recorded facts are concerned. Oaldfield¹² (1877) gives Buba as the Newari term for father in contrast to then correct Nepali term Baba. Whether the present term Abu and Bwa are the later adoptions we cannot say. The possibility is that these terms may have been in existence among the lower class Newars of the Valley, simultaneous^{ly} with the term 'Baba' among the high castes.

Etymologically it is not possible to interpret these two terms except the fact that these connote deep

12. Oaldfield, H.A. - Op. cit. p. 300.

emotional attitude. Being a member of the joint family the father is one among the several members who enjoy little authority. We have already seen that it is the Thakali of the Dewali Guthi or the head of the individual joint family, who is the ritual and social leader. The only function a father has to fulfil in relation to his child is the acceptance of fatherhood at the time of Mach^ā-bu-Benke-gu. The other function of the father is of the chief mourner in case any of his children dies. A father has no doubt to assume responsibility, economic, social and ritual, if he is the head of his family. But such responsibility is incumbent upon him not as a father but as the head of the family. There is, however, a marked recognition of the father in his individual status as distinguished from other relatives. The individualising kinship term used for him is consistent, since inheritance passes through him to his sons. It is obligatory for a son to perform the father's 'sradha' and the festival of seeing 'the face of the father' places him in a category distinct from the other relatives.

As regards the term for mother, the Newars are nearer to the speakers of Hindi, and other Indian languages than to the Gorkhas. They employ the term 'Ma' for mother,

in contrast to the Nepali term 'Ama'. The older Newari term 'Muma' also exists side by side. But the latter term is more in vogue among the aristocratic Newar families as also among the royal Gorkhas. 'Ma' is, however, the most popular and widely prevalent Newari term. In its addressive expression, 'Ma' becomes 'Yo Ma' which reveals intense emotional content. Among the lower caste Newars the addressive term 'yo Ma' becomes 'Yo Maya', and the moment an individual addresses his or her mother in the latter manner, one is sure to know that he is from the lower caste.

From the point of view of behaviour, the Newari mother is not different from any of her counterparts elsewhere. She is kind and partial to her own children. She receives obedience due to her kindness and love whereas a father commands obedience from his children through awe. Like father, the mother has no social and ritual leadership in the domestic ceremonies connected with her child, unless her position coincides with the position of the chief lady of the house or of the clan. Though she is the first person to be concerned the most about her children, such concern is felt by her not because of the norm of the society, but because of maternal impulse. The obligation which a youngest son has to fulfil in the event of the death of the

mother is not reflected by the kinship term. We have pointed out elsewhere that in the event of the mother's death, the obsequies are preferably performed by the youngest son. It is again the youngest son who is preferably chosen to become the performer of annual 'shraddha' of the mother. In Kathmandu the present writer had come across quite a number of families in which the annual 'shraddha' of the father is performed by the eldest son and that of the mother by the youngest. Does this preferred choice for the youngest son reflect some past social practice of the Newars? In a way it does. Looking to the custom of continual divorce and remarriage among the Newars, it is quite easy to account for such a role of the youngest son. It is probable that at the time of the death of a woman, it will be her youngest son by a different husband who would be present by her death bed. And naturally, on her death, he is the person who has to perform the obsequies and 'shraddha' of his mother. What was once thus a necessity has, perhaps, now become a custom.

Coming to the terms for siblings, the terms 'Kaye' (son) and 'Mhyaye' (daughter) do not seem to have any affinity with the terms used by the surrounding

people to designate their sons and daughters. One fails to find even a remote connection of these Newar terms with the terms in the Indo-Aryan speeches of India. No such terms or even a remote suggestion of it may be found in the Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies compiled by G.S. Ghurye in his 'Family and Kin. among the Indo-European culture'.¹³ It is, however, strange enough to note the phonetic similarity of 'Kaye' with 'Kao' (son) of the Dafla language and 'Mhga' with the Kanauri term 'Meo'. Besides the term Kaye, an alternative term 'Putā'^{is} used, which is clearly a loan term from the Prakrit Putta.

With regard to the terms of address, the Newars and Gorkhas behave alike. Though the Newars still use the traditional addressive terms such as 'Kaye-Macha' (for son) and 'Mhga-Macha' (for daughter), the Nepali terms 'Babu' for son and 'Nani' for daughter are also employed side by side. Each of the terms in both the sets is a generic term denoting 'male' or 'female' child. The Nepalese terms of address are, however, becoming more in vogue.

13. Op. cit. - pp. 217-239.

The son has a special position in the Newar family set-up. We have time and again repeated that his importance is primarily associated with the strong cult of ancestral worship. The son is the person to perform the obsequies of his deceased parents and give annual oblation to them. We have already noted some of these functions in connection with the terms for father and mother.

With regard to terms for daughter, she is distinguished from the son: She goes to join her husband's patrilineal family and, therefore, belongs to her husband's Dewali. She observes a four-day death pollution after her marriage, in case some body dies among her paternal kins. Nevertheless the individualising term used for a daughter sets her apart from the brother's daughter or from any other person who stands in the relationship of a daughter to the ego. Such a distinction seems to be quite obvious when we take into account certain functions that a daughter has to perform and certain rights which she enjoys in her parental home. If she were to remain unmarried under the institution of 'Burhi-Kanya' she would be entitled to have an equal share in her father's property along with her brothers, though on her death such a share of property would revert to her brothers. Naturally, therefore, she has to be distinguished from others. A daughter's son is

allowed, in the absence of any 'fukee' members, to set fire to the corpse of the ego. A daughter has too many ritual obligations to perform in her family of birth, and she is to be invited, if married, on the occasion of feasts and festivals.

Both of the son and daughter should obey the parents and listen to their advices. When the son grows up, the father expects him to be the supporter of the family, while the daughter can always, in times of distress, look to her parental home for shelter and food.

While showing respect, the son is expected to place his head on the feet of his parents. The position of a daughter is somewhat different in this respect. She is always treated as high and venerable. Unmarried daughters are never allowed to touch the feet of either of the parents or ^{any} of ^{the} ~~any~~ other elders. While making greetings to her elders, she simply says 'Bhagiyati'. She is invariably regarded as a human form of goddess Kumari and is thus indicative of the strong mother cult of the Newars. This cult finds its manifest expression as we have noticed, in the worship of Kumari. The position of

a married daughter changes only slightly. The sacredness attached to her, when unmarried, is modified in relation to her mother only. For after her marriage she is expected to touch the feet of her mother. She, however, retains her sacred position in relation to other members of her parent's family.

The terms for brothers and sisters have significance both in respect of the range of their applicability and the distinction they serve to make between the elder and the younger. Except the term Daju for elder brother, none of the other terms falling under this group ^{does} appear to show affinity with the corresponding Nepali terms.

The term for elder brother Daju shows phonetic affinity with the Tamang term 'Dyedzo'. Whether there is any connection between 'Daju' which is a loan term from Nepali and the Tamang Dyedzo, we cannot say. An alternative term 'Ara' for elder brother is also current in Bhatgaon within the Valley. 'Ara', therefore, seems to have been replaced by the Nepali term 'Daju' in the Kathmandu region.

The elder brother has to be approached with respect. Owing to the seniority of his age, he is entitled to become the head of the joint family. The younger brother

is just like one's own son. He has to be looked after and economically supported. In the absence of any male member in the ascendant generation in the joint family, the elder brother becomes the ceremonial head. He has to perform the functions hitherto done by the father. As for example, in the 'Kalya-Nhya-Ke-gu' ceremony (slipping of silver ornament over the wrist of the bride), the elder brother of the prospective bridegroom can perform this function, if there is no body in the father's generation to do this job. In connection with the term Daju (elder brother), it may be pointed out that strangely enough, it is found that in the Newari folk-songs a lover is always referred to as 'Daju'. But it is difficult to account for this.

The term Tata and Kehan used respectively to designate elder and younger sister are difficult to be traced to their possible origin. Like the terms for brother, they connote relationship of blood and are symbolic of the strong affection between the brother and the sister. The distinction made between two sisters on the basis of age is quite understandable; for the elder sister like the elder brother is to be approached with

respect. Elder sister is like a mother; the younger sister is to be affectionately treated and looked after. The fact that a series of social functions a brother has to perform in relation to his sister and sister's son shows the strong bond existing between them. In the absence of others, the brother has to perform all these functions at the time of the marriage of his sister, which would have been performed by the Thakali or the eldest male member in the father's generation. But such functions are not performed in his capacity as brother, but rather as the head of the family. The Newars differ from the Gorkhas with regard to some functions of the brother in relation to his sister. At the time of the marriage of the sister among the latter, a brother has to offer parched paddy to her. In addition, he has to lift her and carry her three times round the sacred fire. Such functions of a brother are not to be met with among the Newars. Rather say, a Newar brother has no ritual function in the marriage of his sister.

The use of classificatory terms for brother and sister does in fact indicate that the ego should behave with his classificatory brothers and sisters in the same manner

as he behaves towards his own brother and sister. But there is not necessarily an identity of function; for the ego and his classificatory brothers and sisters (excepting his 'Fukee' brothers and 'Fukee' sisters) belong to two different Dewalis. Therefore, the children of the maternal uncle, of the paternal aunts and of the mother's sisters will not have the same rights and privileges as enjoyed by his own brothers and sisters. Such differentiation of functions, rights and privileges are reflected in the Dewali worship, birth, death and other domestic rites. What is consistent with these classificatory terms is the tabooing of marriage with the cross-cousins.

Going upward in the second ascendant generation, the terms 'Aja' and 'Aji' used in a classificatory sense indicate in some respect a non-distinction of the functions in relation to the grand parents. This accords well with the fact that the Newars allow a daughter's son to perform the obsequies of his grand father, if his own son is not available. From the view-point of property-succession, the daughter's son does not, however, have the legal right, unless the latter makes a will in favour of the former in his own life time. Such equivalence of the two categories of relatives - paternal grand parents and maternal grand

parents - can be explained in quite a different way also. The nature of Newar social organisation with the practice of the local concentration of the marriage ties enables a married daughter to spend quite a good part of her life with her parents and this would naturally lead her children to follow the practice of her brother's children in addressing her parents. This, however, raises a question as to why don't the children similarly call their mother's brother as father, if residence ^{were} ~~was~~ to be a factor related to kinship terms. This can be explained by saying that the mother's brother has specific functions in relation to his sister's children and as such he is bound to be individualised.

Going still up, the treatment given to grandparents is also given to the great-grand-parents. Here it may be seen that the great-grand-father is regarded as something distant. This is obviously so because very few persons survive to see their great grand children coming to age. The expected behaviour pattern between a person and his great grand children is insignificant. Similarly the lineal relatives in the fourth ascendant generation is still further removed in time, and a person is not at all concerned materially except when blood relationship is to be traced from him. The great grand parents if ever they

survive, are so old that they are very likely to be confined to their rooms and not accessible to great-grand children. In such old ages, they are apt to be afflicted with sickness. Hence the prefix 'Ghain-ghain' which conveys the idea of "coughing by an old man".

The complete merging of collaterals with the lineal in the second descendant generation and downwards, as already stated, accords well with the explanation given earlier. From the point of view of grand father, a grand child has no particular function. Therefore, it is logical enough that he should use a classificatory term for his grand children indicating no sex-differences.

The relatives of the third ascendant generation and upward being still further removed from the persons of the second descendant generation and downward are, therefore, to be treated on the same principle as in the case of the grand-father's parents.

The differentiation of sex in the ascendant generation and upward as distinct from its non-distinction in the second descendant generation and downward needs some

explanation. This is due to the need for keeping a complete list of the blood relatives upto seven generations up for marriage purpose and 'shraddha' ceremony.

Let us now examine some of the terms for collaterals which have not been discussed elsewhere. The term for father's brother 'Tari-Bwa' (elder father) and 'Chiri-Bwa' (younger father) are employed no doubt to distinguish father from them. The prefixes 'Tari' and 'Chiri' are used to denote the seniority and juniority, of these relatives in relation to father. These relatives are distinguished from the father, only by the use of the suffixes. The etymological meanings of these terms suggest that father's brothers are also fathers who are, however distinguished from another on the basis of age-difference. Although an alternative term 'Kaka' is side by side used to designate the father's younger brother, its presence does not make the earlier term less common. Tari-Bwa and Chiri-Bwa are, therefore, the traditional kinship terms of the Newars. In this respect, the Newars come closer to the Gorkhas who designate their father's brother as 'Thulo-Ba' (elder father) and 'Kanchha-Ba' (younger father). The differentiation of father's brother on the basis of the seniority or juniority of their respective ages accords well with the family organisation of the Newars,

among whom age is correlated with the status and authority. At the same time the identification of father's brothers with the father as distinct from the other collaterals in the father's generation is in consonance with the solidarity of patrilineal relatives.

In mutual behaviour both father's elder and younger brothers are to be treated on ^apar with the father. In a family like that of the Newars, father's eldest brother is the real authority and ceremonial leader. The children are, throughout more connected with the father's eldest brother who is the head of the family. He is responsible for their upbringing and education. Father's younger brother has to be equally respected. Father and father's younger brother have to work in economic partnership with the father's elder brother.

The terms 'Tari-Bwa' and 'Chiri-Bwa' suggest an additional evidence of the existence of polyandry in the past; only in a polyandrous society would the children ^{likely to} address the brother of the father as fathers. Moreover, when we take into consideration, the terms 'Dara-Bhata' (elder husband) and Kija-Bhata (younger husband) used by a woman to designate her husband's brothers, we get more confirmation of it. We have already mentioned

elsewhere the woman's way of referring to her husband's home. A further evidence is to be found in the custom of accepting the fatherhood of the child at the time of the 'Macha-Bu-Benke-gu'.

Another important relative in the collateral line is the mother's sister. She is also graded according to the seniority or juniority of her age. Mother's elder sister is 'Tari-Ma'. She is alternatively called Dhoma, a term more current in Bhatgaon. 'Tari-Ma' and 'Chiri-Ma' etymologically mean elder mother and younger mother. They are thus identified with mother. Of course they are the potential wives of father's brothers since exchange marriage is recognised by the Newars. The equivalence of the terms for father's brother's wives with the mother's sisters also confirms this contention.

The behaviour of an ego towards his mother's sister is somewhat similar to that which is ^{towards} his own mother. The ego always shows emotional closeness towards such relatives. In the event of ceremonies connected with the child, they have to be invited. They have to bring Sagan on such occasions. In the event of the marriage of a girl, her mother's sisters also receive their respective shares

of Lakha brought from the bride-grooms house.

The two other collaterals in the first ascendant generation are the mother's brother and the father's sister. It is difficult to trace the origin of the terms 'Paju' (mother's brother) and 'Neeni' (father's sister). Neither of these terms show any linguistic affinity with the corresponding terms current in the Indo-Aryan languages. The term 'Paju' is compounded of two terms - 'Pa' and 'ju'. 'Ju' is a suffix showing respect. So far as 'Pa' is concerned, it must have been derived from some earlier term which is difficult to be traced. The term 'Neeni' for father's sister is also peculiar to the Newar. It, however, very strangely appears to indicate some phonetic similarity with the old Greek term 'Nennos' for father's sister.¹⁴

The individualisation of these two relatives from the rest is correlated with the specific functions they have to perform in relation to the ego. As between father's sister and mother's brother, both have to fulfil a series of obligations in respect of the household of the ego. But so far as the ego himself is concerned the role of mother's brother far outweighs the role of father's sister. If we

14. Ghurye, G.S. - Op. cit. p. 23.

refer back to the chapters on ceremony we find that the mother's brother has to every time fulfil some type of obligations. The father's sister has nevertheless a series of ritual functions to perform in the household of the ego. In the series of social events, she has to send the ritual materials and presents on behalf of her. Especially, her role is unavoidable when a death occurs in the family of the ego. But such continuous obligations she ^{fulfills} ~~meets~~, not as father's sister, but as the daughter of the house. Her role as the father's sister is very limited. She has to perform only two important functions, one at the time of hair-cutting ceremony and the other at the time of the 'yihee' of the girl. The ego on the other hand has certain social obligations towards his father's sister's family, not as an individual relative, but as the head of the family in the absence of his father, since from the point of view his father's sister's children, his household is the maternal uncle's household.

The mother's brother is the most important individual in the life of an individual apart from his ceremonial duties. He is expected to help and look after his Nephews and Nieces, if his sister leaves her husband's home. It is common practice for an individual to spend

much of his childhood in his mother's brother's house. He has to be loved and respected; he should not be scolded or uttered harsh words. He must not be allowed to touch the feet of his mother's brother. Whatever he does and says are to be tolerated. Thus he enjoys much liberty and freedom in his mother's brother's house. There is an example which serves to show the high reverence in which the 'Bhinchha' is held by the members of the mother's brother's family. A Newar friend of the writer, once asked his small 'Bhinchha', out of sheer fun, to touch his feet; and when the boy was just going to touch the feet of his maternal uncle, the ladies shouted against such an act, as though something very sacrelegious would be committed. The display of such attitude towards the 'Bhinchha' indicates that the sister's son is sacred and the mother's brother is expected to respect him. If a Newar has no place elsewhere in this world, he surely has one in his mother's brother's house. Among the lower caste Newars, the nephews fulfil priestly functions and enjoy the privilege of receiving gifts just as the Brahmins have.

In the first descendant generation, the terms 'Kayacha' and 'Whya-Cha' used by a man to designate his brother's children and by a woman to designate her sister's

children accord well with the existing social pattern of the Newars. The terms 'Kaye-cha' and 'Mhya-cha' as earlier stated are only slightly different in the etymological sense from the terms 'Kaye' for son and 'Mhya' for daughter. This distinction is maintained only by adding the 'suffix 'cha'. With the use of such terms the ego identifies his brother's children in some sense with his own and differentiates them from his sister's children (Bhincha). This is obvious in a patrilineal and patrilocal society in which several brothers live with their wives and children in a joint household, while the daughters leave for their husband's homes. If an ego does not bifurcate his own and brother's children from those of his sister's (Bhincha), there is likelihood of arising confusion with regard to the rule of inheritance. Besides, there once again has to be a bifurcation between his own children and those of his brother's; since his own son has specific functions with regard to him. Such functions have already been noted in connection with the terms for the father and the mother. Similar is the explanation for these terms used by a woman in reverse. In addition, if a brother's son or daughter dies, a man has to observe death pollution for ~~the~~ thirteen days, whereas in ^{the} case of a married sister or her children

the period of pollution is only for four days. A woman also on her part observes only a four-day death pollution in case her brother's child dies. The classificatory term 'Bhinchā' used by a man to designate the children of his sister and by a woman to designate the children of her brother can, therefore, be explained by the fact that it is entirely due to the familial organisation of the Newars, which maintains the solidarity of the patrilineal clan. The single term 'Bhinchā' used to designate both the sexes is, however, something different from the Gorkhas who are also patrilineal and patri-local but who differentiate between male and female by using the term 'Bhanja' and 'Bhanji'. What is the specific function associated with such non-distinction between a male and a female so far as the brother's children (from the point of view of a woman) and sister's children (from the point of view of a man) are concerned? This can be accounted in part for the non-differentiation of functions as between the male 'Bhinchā' and the female 'Bhinchā' from the point of view of the ego.

Let us see now whether the explanations given above are supported by the affinal terms to be used by a daughter-in-law in her husband's house and by a son-in-law while designating his newly acquired relatives in his wife's

parent's home.

The parents of the bride and bridegroom refer to each other as 'Samdhi'. It is a Nepali term which is now much in vogue. Their obligations towards each other is limited; their behaviour is one of mutual respect and avoidance so far as the opposite sexes are concerned. There is one important social fact in this connection which culturally marks them off from the Gorkhas. Among the Gorkhas, a Samdhi does not eat food or drink water in the house of another Samdhi. The Newars, however, do not observe this restriction. The Samdhis take meal freely in the house of each other.

The kinship terms that a daughter-in-law (bhau-macha) uses in her husband's home conforms to her membership in her husband's house. Her behaviour towards the persons elder to her husband is that of respect and obedience and towards the younger ones, ^{it is} ~~they are~~ similar to her husband's behaviour towards them. She has to treat all these relatives as her blood relations. That is why she uses the same kinship terms as used by her husband to designate these relatives but with the suitable addition of 'ju' in respect of the elders because she has to show respect and humility to them.

All types of obligations, pollutions and privileges are applicable to her in the same manner as to her husband, in the event of any function or death in her husband's Fukee families. A contrast is presented by the new relationship acquired by a son-in-law. He does ^{not} ~~not~~ change his residence unless he is a Ghar-jawain. He has obligations only towards the members of his wife's parent's household. Like his wife, he observes only a four-day death pollution, if some one dies in his father-in-law's family. Except he and his wife, no other member of his family observes any pollution concerned with his wife's parent's family.

For a woman, her husband's mother-in-law is 'Maju' and her husband's father is 'Baju' as against her own mother and father whom she designates as 'Ma' and 'Ba' or 'Bwa' respectively. She is in turn designated by the elder relatives as 'Bhau' who should receive affection from them.

The husband's elder brother, 'Dara-Bhata' is treated more or less on ^a par with the father-in-law. It is indecent to refer to or address him by his name. In addressing him, the standard Nepali term 'Jetha-ju' is sometimes used. But there exists no observance of avoidance between her and her husband's elder brother, a feature which stands in contrast with that of the Gorkhas, which fact further confirms Newar polyandry. She is treated by her 'Dara Bhata' with affection. He addresses her as 'Bhau' a term used

to designate one's own daughter-in-law. Similarly, husband's younger brother 'Kehe^{h)}₂Bhata' is like a son to a woman. She is addressed by him as 'Tata-ju' meaning more than an elder sister who is to be respected somewhat on^a₂ par with the mother. Husband's elder brother's wife is designated as 'Pi-Bhata' and husband's younger brother's wife as 'Bhali-Macha'. Among the higher caste Shivamargi Newars the last two affineal relatives are designated as Fili and Mayali. A woman treats her husband's elder brother's wife with regard and respect and addresses her 'Tata-ju'. Husband's younger brother's wife is 'Bhau'. These two relatives would have been the elder and younger sisters of a woman in an exchange marriage. But this fact is not reflected by the kinship terms. There is no equivalence of the term used for a woman's sister's husbands (Jicha Dhaju and Jicha Bhaju) with the terms for a husband's brother's which should in fact have been so owing to exchange marriages.

Husband's elder sister is 'Ta-Bhata' whom she should respect and husband's younger sister is 'Ken-Bhata' by whom she is to be respected. But husband's elder sister's husband is 'Jicha Daju' which means a brother through the marriage tie. Husband's younger sister's

husband is 'Jila-Jan'. Under the Newari custom of exchange marriage both husband's sisters are the potential wives of the woman's brother.

A Newar woman as we have noticed identifies her husband's brother's children with the children of her own sisters, calling these 'Kaye-cha' and 'Mhyea-cha'. Only the suffix 'cha' differentiates these categories of children from her own children for whom the terms used are 'Kaye' and 'Mhyea'. It suggests two types of consistency with the familial organisation of the Newars. Firstly, the identity of husband's brother's children with those of the woman's sisters is fully supported by the practice of exchange marriage. Secondly it points out the familial unity of brothers in a patrilineal extended family from which married daughters are excluded.

For a man, his wife's consanguineal relatives in the ascendant generation are to be respected and he should not marry any woman from these generations, since he places them in the categories of his own consanguineal relatives of the corresponding generations.

Wife's elder sister who is designated as 'Sasa-Tata' is to be approached with politeness and respect.

She is the person to whom the man is related as 'Jila-jan'. Marriage with a wife's elder sister is a taboo. There is avoidance between them. But the wife's younger sister is 'Sasa-Keheⁿ' which means she is related as younger sister through marriage with her elder sister. She is, however, a potential wife and joking relationship between her and the man exists. Marriage with the daughters of the wife's sister is prohibited, whom one designates as 'Sasa-Mhe^yacha', the term being a compound of 'Sasa' (showing affinal relationship) and 'Mhe^ya-cha' used for designating the daughter of one's own brother. The restriction on marriage with one's wife's sister's daughter accords well with the kinship terms used for them, for in an exchange marriage the wife's sisters would have been the wives of one's own brothers or the wife's younger sister would have been the man's own second wife. But a man can marry his wife's brother's daughter whom a man calls 'Sasa-Bhincha'. Conversely, a woman can marry her father's sister's husband - 'Jicha-Paju'.

The Kinship terminology of the Newars is conditioned by the solidarity of clan and patrilineal family, exchange marriage and restriction on the marriage between the two individuals who can trace blood relationship through seven generations. The kinship terminology

in addition, presents the unity of a family of three generations. From the statistical data discussed in the beginning we have seen that the general pattern of joint family is that of three generations.

We have so far discussed the organisation of relatives as looked from the view point of an individual. The relationship can also be expressed in terms of households. By this device they are able to set apart their patrilineal group from the rest of the relatives. From the point of view of a household there can be four such groupings. These are:

Fukee-Khala including Daju-Kija Khala;
 Mhga-masta (daughter's families);
 Paju-Khala (Maternal uncle's family); and
 Sasa-Khala (father-in-law's family).

There exists mutual rights, duties and obligations which concern the relationship between these households as well as between these and the ego. For a people like the Newars with an abundance of ceremonies and feasts such a categorisation of relatives serves^a quite useful purpose. It avoids sending invitation to every member of the household

at the time of some social event. Of all these households, a person can always look to his Paju-Khala for help and sympathy. He is to be venerated and softly spoken of. On the other hand 'Mhya-Masta Khala' is more closer to an ego's household. Such a reducing of relatives into set categories results in the formation of different concentric circles of kin and affines according to the closeness in which the ego's household stands in relation to such groups of relatives.

CHAPTER VI

Social Organisation (Contd)

NEWAR PANTHEON

In this chapter it is intended to deal with the Newar pantheon - their structure, functions and the propitiatory rites connected with it. It is therefore complementary to those on the ceremonies and the festivals. With a view to understanding the nature of the Newar gods and goddesses, let us begin with the Newars' earlier ideas and beliefs about their divinities.

According to B.H.Hodgson¹ the Newari language does not contain terms for god and creation, if we exclude the Sanskrit terms bhagwan, deo and deota. He further remarks that whenever a Newar individual expresses the idea of a god without resorting to Sanskrit terms, he is driven to periphrasis and says 'Adhiji-ju-Deo'. He suggests that this term is compounded of Adhji (grand father) and Deo. Thus by reverence for his ancestors, a Newar comes to revere his maker, whom he calls literally the father of his father. Looking to the present conditions

1. Hodgson, B.H. - Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists, 1841, p. 8.

in the Valley, there is no such term applied by the Newars to designate their gods and goddesses, subject to one exception in the case of Akash Bhairava. 'Aja ju' (not 'Adhji ju') is an alternative designation for this god which is still current.

Another context in which the term 'Aja ju' is used at present by the Newars, apart from its use for the designation of one's grand-father, is at the time of the 'Gathe Mangal' festival on the 14th^{of the} dark-half of Sravan. This is the occasion when a person of Pore caste, while personating the demon 'ghantakaran', goes about the street in the morning shouting 'Aja ju' which is by its implication taken to mean "I am the father of your father". When the tradition of calling the god 'Adhji-ju', as Hodgson has mentioned, is taken into consideration with the present practice of the Newars to look upon a person as a semi devine being after his 'Burha-Jun^{ko}' ceremony, it gives rise to the supposition of some kind of ancestor worship. This supposition^{is} further reinforced when we consider its connection with the early custom of depositing the bones of a dead relative and erecting a 'chaitya' over them and with the important cult of the 'Dewali' worship. These provide a chain of evidences which tend to show that the

primitive religion of the Newars may have originated in ancestor worship. But one cannot conclusively prove it, in the absence of intensive work on the subject.

Regarding the creation of mankind, Hodgson relates a somewhat strange narration from the Newar Buddhist literature which bears a close resemblance to the Biblical story about the origin of mankind. According to this anecdote, originally the earth was uninhabited by human beings. During those early periods, the inhabitants of Abhisara Bhawan (abode of Brahma) used to visit the earth frequently. Once it so happened that these half-male and half-female beings, who were devoid of the sexual urge and who had not noticed their distinction of sex, came as usual to earth. It is said that at this time 'Adi Buddha' suddenly created in them a violent longing to eat some of the earth, which tasted to them like almonds. After having eaten the earth they lost their power of flying back to the abode of Brahma. Consequently, they were doomed to remain on the earth and to eat its fruits for sustenance. The eating of these fruits aroused in them a deep erotic feeling and impelled them to associate together for the satisfaction of their

sexual urge. Thus the earth began to be peopled with mankind.²

Whatever may be the primitive beliefs and ideas of the Newars about their gods and the origin of mankind, they fully share at present the current Hindu beliefs and practices with the exception of a few which however, remain peculiar to them. At present they are either Buddhists or Hindus. The Newar religious life moves within these two limits. But the majority of the deities is still in their lower aspects. Although these divinities, barring a few ones, are also believed and worshipped by the local non-Newar Hindu communities of the Valley, it is only with the Newars that these have ceremonial relationships. For, in none of the religious events connected with these deities do the non-Newars figure at all, except in the case of Pashupati nath, Dattatraya and Narayan at whose temples the priests are ^{the} non-Newars.

As the Newar religion is clothed in the garb of Hinduism and Buddhism, the nature of their pantheon must

2. Ibid, p. 63.

be examined in the context of the tenets of these two religions. As for Hinduism, it is not thought necessary to discuss it here, since it is not different from that found in India. Buddhism however needs some description, because Nepalese Buddhism differs in some detail from that of the orthodox Buddhism as commonly understood in India. By Nepalese Buddhism here it is intended to mean the Newar Buddhism. The salient features of the Nepalese Buddhism are recapitulated so as to arrive at a better understanding of ^{the} Newar divinities.

At its higher level, the Newar Buddhism is essentially monotheistic and is based on a belief in one supreme God, that is 'Adi Buddha'. Adi Buddha is regarded as the sole Self-existent one, pervading the whole universe. It is believed to have appeared in the water in the form of a flame on a lotus flower, when the Valley was a lake. He is called Swayambhu and is always worshipped in the form of a flame. Adi Buddha wished to change himself from one into many. This resulted in the creation of five divine Buddhas. These are Vairochana, Akshobhya, Ratna Sambhava, Amitabha and Amog Siddha. These divine Buddhas were ultimately absorbed into Swayambhu and are

no longer concerned with the world. Each of these divine Buddhas is supposed to have his feminine consort Bodhi Saktis with whose union each is said to have produced a divine Bodhi Satwa, who is charged with the affairs of the world by rotation. Ever since the beginning of time three Bodhi Satwas took their birth in order to create and govern the systems or universe, on the dissolution of which, after having accomplished their purpose, they were reabsorbed into Adi Buddha. According to the Newari Buddhism, the present world is the work of the fourth divine Bodhi Satwa. Padma Pani who is also identified with Matsyendra nath. Padma pani is supposed to be reabsorbed on the dissolution of the present world, after which the responsibility of creating and governing the next world shall devolve on the fifth Bodhi Satwa.

Another peculiar feature of the Newar Buddhism is the recognition of the Hindu triad, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. It is claimed by the Buddhist Newars that with a view to relieving himself of the cares and responsibilities of governing the world, Padma Pani created Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh, and delegated to them, the power of creating,

preserving and destroying the world, respectively. He is further believed to have called into his service Indra, Ganesh, Hanuman, Garuda, Lakshmi and Saraswati, who are all regarded merely as ^{the} servants of Padma Pani, the lord of the Universe, who alone wields the powers and possesses the attributes of the Adi Buddha.

After the divine Bodhi Satwas, come the countless mortal Buddhas. They are called mortal because they are born of human parents, who had to live their life on the earth and who had attained the divine status only through penance and austerity. Among these, Sakya Sinha is the last and most prominent. He takes his rank among those historical personages such as Vipasu, Sikhi, Vishwa Bha, Krakuchand, Kanak Muni, Kashyapa of the remote past, who came into the Valley attracted by its sacredness. Again, each of these mortal Buddhas is believed to have his spouse. Below them rank the mortal Bodhi Satwas - Mahamati, Ratnadhara, Akashganga, Saka Mangala, Kanak Raja, Dharmodhasa and Ananda. Still below them are the saints who have not yet attained the Buddha stage. Among these are included Manjusri and his two wives 'Bardar' and 'Makseddar' (interpreted by the Hindus as Laxmi and Saraswati, respectively).

Of all the Buddhist divinities, only four can be said to have any real influence on the Newars. They are Amitabha, Padma Pani, Sakya Sinha (Gautam Buddha), and the mortal Bodhi Satwa Manjusri.

The Newar Buddhism is characterised by the absence of monastic institutions*, existence of caste and the adoption of many Hindu deities which mark it off from its other variants elsewhere. What strikes one most by the enumeration of the above higher Buddhist divinities is the fact that they have been essentially given the clothing of the Newar thoughts and ideas which govern the Newar social life. Each of these divinities is shown to be associated with his female consort who is indispensable. Further these divine personages are ordered in their social status under the same principle of seniority of age which forms the basis of the Newar familial order.

Between the Hinduism and the Buddhism of the Newars there is more mutual recognition and exchange of beliefs and rituals than conflict. Thus the 'Nepala

* This is not to contradict the recent attempt at the revival of the monastic institution. Such a revival has nothing to do with the social organisation of the Newars.

Mahatmya' says "to worship Buddha is to worship Shiva" and Swam^{ya}bhu Furan reciprocates the same by recommending the worship of Shiva.³ The significance of the official statements by the two representative Hindu and Buddhist scriptures of Nepal are amply borne out in the actual life of the Newars. The temples of Shiva and Narain are equally venerated and frequented by the orthodox Buddhist Newars. For in the majority of cases the only criterion for distinguishing between the two different religious groups is the employment of a priest. Otherwise, they worship both the sets of gods and goddesses. Although the 'Vanras' and the 'Udas', the two orthodox sections among the Buddhists, may not regularly visit the shrines of Shiva and Narain, they nevertheless regard all the other Hindu gods and goddesses such as Bhairava, Bhagwati, Ganesh etc., as essential part of their practical religion.

Of the Hindu gods, Shiva or Mahadeo occupies the highest place. It is from this cult that the Hindu Newars derive their group name 'Shiva Margis'. The principal temple dedicated to Shiva is that of Pashupati, the most sacred shrine of the Hindus, in the Valley of

3. Landon, P. - Nepal, Vol. II, p. 211.

Kathmandu. Pashupati is worshipped as the lord of animals and regarded by all as the guardian deity of Nepal. It is represented by a huge phallus emblem with the five figures of Shiva engraved on it. These figures show Shiva in different meditative Mudras. Legend connects this deity with the Mahadeo of Badri Kedar who settled down in the Valley as Pashupati first in the form of a deer and also as flame.⁴ The cult of Shiva or Mahadeo clearly shows its origin from the West. Its introduction into the Valley is said to be later in time than Swayambhu and Guheshwari.⁵ Levi takes the view that some aboriginal pastoral deity has been metamorphosised into Pashupati consequent on the introduction of Hinduism.⁶ Although the high caste Buddhamargi Newars such as the 'Vanras' and 'Udas' do not worship Pashupatinath as a supreme god, they nevertheless venerate him and visit his shrine to pay their obeisance. The rest of the Buddhamargi Newars do not differ at all from their Hindu counterpart in their

4. Wright, D. - *History of Nepal, Cambridge, 1877, p. 81*
Op. cit. p. 81.

5. Ibid.

6. Levi, S. - *Le Nepal, Vol. II, pp 357-65*

religious attitude towards this deity. This deity can be touched only by the Maharastrian Bhat Brahmins who serve as priests in its temple. To the Hindu Newars Pashupati is the protector and giver of prosperity.

Another important temple dedicated to Shiva is of Koteswar Mahadeo. Shiva also plays a very intimate role in the Newars life as Nritya nath. It is represented as a god of dance and music and is exclusively worshipped by the Newars and more so popularly known in Newari language as 'Nasa-deya'. With the exception of the 'six tharia' and 'Shrestha' Newars, all the Newar castes have their respective caste musical groups which look upon Nritya nath as their patron deity. Nritya nath or 'Nasa Deya' is popularly figured as a dancing Shiva, a feature which bears closest affinity with a similar deity of south India. With the Newars however 'Nasa deya' forms a part of their group life. The introduction of this deity is attributed to King Siva Deo Burman, son of Guna Kama Deo (571 A.D.) from the Satarudra mountain.⁷ Sometimes it is shown to be without a head. It is installed on the back-wall of every temple. But sometimes it is found to have its own independent temple also. The status of 'Nasa Deya' is very strange, for it is not accorded as high a rank as Mahadeo. A significant

7. Wright, D. - Op. cit. p. 125

point to note in connection with this deity is that it accepts animal sacrifice in addition to the offering of rice-beer and liquor. The chief function of this deity is to impart skillfulness in music. Every year a particular day is dedicated to its worship, besides such occasions when an individual enters the caste music group called 'Nasa-Khala.

Shiva as 'Lukuma deya' is popularly worshipped by both the religious groups of Newars, the Buddhist and the Hindu. But the worship of this deity is not met with among the non-Newar Hindus of the Valley. Lukuma deya derives its name from the fact that it is a hiding Shiva. The Hindu Newars trace the origin of this deity back to the Hindu legendary episode of Mahadeo and Bhasmasur who by his penance obtained a boon from the former. The boon gave him the power of reducing to ashes anyone on whose head he laid his hand. According to the legend Bhasmasur attempted to test the efficacy of the boon by touching the head of the boon giver himself. In order to escape himself from the danger, Shiva is said to have assumed the form of Lukuma deya and remained hidden from Bhasmasur. Consistent with this tradition, this deity is therefore

always kept hidden amidst the garbage and covered under a stone. Once in a year on the 'Pahan Chare' day (on the fourteenth of the dark half of Chaitra), it is uncovered and worshipped with great veneration. Its worship is believed to insure good-health and protection to the household members. Shiva is worshipped also in numerous other forms for different purposes. More often than not the representation of this deity is made in the form of a 'Phallus'. The tall stone phallus, about five feet high, located at the 'Jaisi Dewal' tole in Kathmandu where women desiring to have a child go to embrace it, is one of such examples of a Shiva fulfilling a role in the Newar society.

Of the other higher Hindu deities, Vishnu also occupies a prominent place. Vishnu or Narain is venerated and worshipped by the Newars more popularly as 'Naran Deya'. The Hindu part of the Nepalese legend credits Vishnu with having converted the lake into the Valley of Kathmandu. Vishnu is said to have come to the Valley along with Brahma and Maheshwar in the form of a deer and remained in the Valley with Shesh and Cow.⁸ If this legend is taken into consideration with the legend that

8. Ibid.

the first dynasty which ruled over the Valley of Kathmandu was that of Gopala or Cowherd dynasty, it is fairly suggestive of the fact that the cult of Vishnu may have been introduced for the first time by the Cow-herds who have now been absorbed into the 'Jyapoo' caste. The fact that Narain is more popular among the 'Jyapoo' caste of Newars goes to support this view. Again an observer in the Valley of Kathmandu will not fail to notice that many of the Buddha idols bear a close resemblance to Vishnu idols.

Of the important temples of Vishnu, there are at least five which are regarded as the principal Narains of the Valley. These include Changu Narain, Vishankhu Narain, Sikha Narain, Ichhanku Narain and Machhe Narain and 'Bura-Nil-Kantha'. Besides these numerous other smaller temples are also dedicated to Narain. Most of these temples are without a priest. Between Shiva and Narain a point which is ethnologically significant is that the latter is the Kul deity of many of the Newars. In Panga village the temple of Narain stands in the centre of the settlement and with no priest attached to it. Annually it is worshipped by a 'Jyapoo' family from the Kathmandu town who regards it as its Kul deity.

Narain is generally represented as resting either on a bed of serpents with their hoods spread over his head or in the standing posture. 'Machhe Narain' is believed to have been originated from a fish from which it derives its name. In the Bhaktapur town a temple is dedicated to 'Wakpati Narain'. This deity is worshipped by the Newar peasants as the harvest god.

^{Animal}
~~Animal~~ sacrifice is seldom offered to Narain in contrast to the other deities which follow later. Of the four main temples of Narain stated earlier, the priest is either a 'Parbatiya' or 'Deo-Bhaju Brahmin'. In the case of 'Bula-nil-Kantha Narain', the priest is a 'Mahant', who belongs to 'Nath' sect'. This deity has peculiar explanation connected with it as regards its appearance in the Valley. According to the correct legend a 'Jyapoo' while digging his rice fields noticed that blood was oozing out from the ground where his spade had struck. He discovered that he had cut the toe of the God Narain who was lying buried in the field. In his dream it was revealed to him that the 'Bula-nil^{-Kantha} Narain' was to appear. Later the deity was restored. It is represented by a colossal stone idol of Vishnu resting

on Shesh Naga. There has been numerous instances of Narain's and Ganesh's idols being unearthed in the fields by the farmers.

Narain is popular also in the form of Shaligram stone. It is worshipped almost by all the Hindu Newars in the same manner as the Non-Newar Hindus. The fact that the Shaligram stone is abundantly found in the Kali river suggests that its worship might have been introduced from the Western Nepal.

The worship of Krishna as an incarnation of Narain is quite popular among the Newars. Krishna occurs in the Newar mythology very frequently. At one place he is described as having come in the Valley to aid his son Pradumnya in the battle against the enemies.⁹ The chief temple dedicated to Krishna is the Krishna Mandir in Patan, which is said to bear the South Indian influence on the Nepalese architecture. This temple is said to have been built by Siddhi Narsingha Malla in 1637 A.D.¹⁰ Another local tradition as stated elsewhere connects the building of this temple with the Tomots who live in that town and

9. *Ibid.* p. 107.

10. *Ibid.* p. 223.

who claim to have come from Mathura. On the 8th^{of the} dark-half of Bhadra, a mela (fair) is held at this temple. Thousands of pilgrims from all over the Valley flock to this temple. In so far as the Newars are concerned, the worship of Krishna is slightly different. They celebrate the birth day of Krishna by decorating their houses and streets with the pictures of Krishna and Gopini. The fair at the Krishna Mandir on the other hand is, participated in by the Gorkhas. On the day of Krishna Ashtami a procession of Krishna is taken out at several places. Boys are dressed to represent Krishna, Balram and Gopikas and drawn in the cars through the different streets. In such Jatra^s it is the Jyapos who play the prominent role. As regards the non-Newars, they are simply spectators. 'Krishna Jatra' is especially popular in the region of Patan, Kirtipur, Panga, and Thankot - places which according to the local tradition are described as the ancient abode of the cowherd people.

Another important temple dedicated to Narain is that of Jagannath which is patterned after the temple at Jagannath Puri. The main temple stands facing the Newar Malla Raja's palace in Kathmandu. It is in Pagoda style and is full of ornamentations in wood carving depicting

the different poses of sexual acts. Another temple of Jagannath stands at the southern extremity of Kathmandu on the bank of Vishnumati. But these temples are rarely visited by the Newars and therefore do not play any significant role in their life, although the deity is believed and revered.

The worship of Rama is not so popular among the Newars. Pictures of Rama are no doubt found in the Newar houses and Ramayan is also read but only in a casual way. On the Ram Navami day, some Hindu Newars may fast like the other Hindus. But its worship is by no means popular. The rarity of Rama temple in the Valley shows how this deity is more or less over looked. Another fact which goes to show the comparatively less attention to Rama worship is the status of Hanuman (the ape god). In the Newar worship Hanuman does not have any place at all.¹¹ At the old palace of Newar Malla King in Kathmandu, an idol of Hanuman stands at the gate of the palace, and enjoys no better status than that of a gate-keeper. In the temple of Rama at Jaisi dewal and Pashupati, Hanuman is worshipped, but as infrequently as its Lord. Bhatgaon however forms

11. Levi, S. - Vol. II, p. 329.

an exception in this matter. The river flanking the Northern side of that town is called after the ape god as 'Hanumante'. On its bank there are two ghats respectively known as Ram ghat and Hanuman ghat, where the temples of Rama and Hanuman stand. The Newar legend says that on his way back to Lanka with the mountain containing Mrityu Sanjivini plant which was needed to revive the life of Lakshmana, Hanuman had stopped there to rest. Such exceptional importance of Hanuman in this town is due to its being predominantly a Hindu area. But in comparison to the popularity of divinities like Shiva, Narain, Krishna, Bhagwati, Bhairava and Ganesh, the cult of Rama may be taken to be negligible.

The secondary deities like Ganesh, Kumar, Bhairava and Bhairavi are more closely connected with the domestic life of the Newars. Among these, Ganesh occupies a prominent position. Maharashtra which is well noted for the worship of Ganesh lags behind the Valley where this deity receives the most favoured treatment. Numerous temples are dedicated to Ganesh, and practically no region, town or locality is without his temple.

We have already noted that the worship of Ganesh by the 'Naki' is an indispensable prerequisite

to all the Newar domestic ceremonies, which indicate its supreme importance. With regard to offerings made to this deity the practice of animal sacrifice to it distinguishes the Newars from the others. Ganesh is generally represented in a sitting posture, as in India, bedaubed with vermillion. But at one place it is found seated on the serpent-bed, (Please see ~~page~~^{photograph}). The main function of Ganesh is to remove obstacles in human work. But it is also worshipped as the bestower of good husband or child.

Of the temples dedicated to Ganesh in the Valley of Kathmandu, there are four main temples. These are Surya Vinayak at Bhatgaon, Sidhi Vinayak at Sankhu, Acoke Vinayak at Kathmandu and Vighna Vinayak at Chaubar. A human being deified as Ganesh is also worshipped in Bhatgaon. The idol of Ganesh at the entrance of Talleju temple in Bhatgaon is, according to the local belief, of a deified Dakshini Brahman (probably a Maharastrian Brahman) of Agnihotri clan. Similarly the Acoke Vinayak in Kathmandu is regarded as an incarnation of a Manandhar man (Teli by caste).

The Ganesh's fourth (Ganesh Chaturthi) which falls on the fourth of the bright half of Bhadra is celebrated by the Newars. But this day is more important in connection with

some other event than with Ganesh. The festival of Acoke Vinayak in Kathmandu is celebrated on the 8th bright half of Aswin, where-as in Panga such Jatra is held on the second of the dark half of Bhadra.

Tuesday is held to be sacred in honour of Ganesh. Along with the Hindu belief of Ganesh being the son of Parvati, the Newars also hold the view that Parvati herself was able to accomplish her desire to have Shiva through the aid of Ganesh in whose honour she had taken a vow. Ganesh, therefore, like Shiva is believed to have the power and ^{and} ~~urath~~ of bestowing a good husband to a woman. The practice of unmarried girls fasting on Tuesdays in honour of Ganesh to obtain a suitable husband therefore still prevails among the Newars.

Ganesh is also the Kul deity of many of the Newar castes. The Kasai caste of Panga regards Ganesh ^{as} their household deity.

Of ~~all~~ the principal temples of Ganesh in the Valley, except that of Surya Vinayak all others are served either by the 'Gubhaju' or by ^{the} 'Achaju' priests. Generally the 'Jyapoo' is the deva pala in all these temples. In Bhaktapur, the temple of Surya Vinayak is served by as low

a caste as 'Pore'. There is another temple of Ganesh in Bhaktapur which is served by a Dunya Newar, another low caste.

Bhairava is worshipped in a multitude of forms such as demons, deified human beings and animals. Tradition asserts that the most ancient Bhairavas in the Valley were the Pachak and those of Bhaktapur (Bhatgaon) ^{and} ~~or~~ Sanga (to the east of the Valley), and of Nayakot.¹³ These seem to have come to the Valley with the different sets of the people.

It is difficult to find a place which is not pervaded by ~~the~~ Bhairava. The prominent location of ~~the~~ Bhairava however is the corner of a street or any site which has an unusual and strange appearance. With the majority of Newars it is the dominant deity along with its consort, Bhairavi and Ganesh. In all the ceremonies, propitiation of Bhairava is the most essential feature. The innumerable festivals held in its honour and the exhibition of its mask on numerous occasions reveals ~~his~~ ^{its} importance.

13. Wright, D. - Op. cit. p. 105.

The principal temples dedicated to Bhairava in the Valley include Akash Bhairava, Kal Bhairava, Bag Bhairava, Pachali Bhairava and Mahankal. The temple of Akash Bhairava is located in the town of Kathmandu. All the Hindus and Buddhists worship this deity which is regarded as the guardian-deity of Indra Chouk, locality in Kathmandu town. The hereditary priest and Dewapala (care taker) of this temple are respectively a 'Vanra' and a 'Jyapoo'. In its aboriginal form it has its temple on a hillock to the south western foot hill of the Valley where the 'Dunya Newars' dwell. The management of this temple is carried out by the 'Dunyas'. It is this deity whom they invariably invoke. The deity derives its name from the fact that its face is always upturned towards the sky because if its eyes were to fall on any object, ^{that object} ~~it~~ is believed to be destroyed at once. Akash Bhairava is also identified with Eklabya, the Bhilla prince mentioned in the Mahabharat. The 'Dunya' Newars however prefer to call this deity 'Sava Deya'. In Newari language 'Sava' means 'Savari', the Bhilla woman mentioned in Ramayana. Etymologically interpreted, 'Sava-deya' means the god of Savari. It thus shows affinity with the Bhilla race of India. On the Indra Jatra day, the Akash Bhairav is personated by a 'Dunya' Newar by wearing a mask and accompanied by two ganas known as 'Bhakbu'. ^(photo 9, aph 90) Another tradition

mentions this deity as a Rakshasa prince who had gone to witness the battle of Mahabharat. The tradition goes on to say that the Rakshasa prince was asked by Krishna on whose side he would fight. To this he replied that he *would* fight on the losing side. Krishna thereupon fearing that he was sure to assist the Kauravas, beheaded him with the 'Sudarshan chakra', and caused his head ^{to be} thrown back to his home in the Valley of Nepal. This legend also explains the usual representation of Bhairava in masks. How blood thirsty Akash Bhairava is, can be seen from the description in the chapter on festivals to be followed later.

Kal Bhairava is located in Kathmandu. The deity is represented by a huge black idol with no temple as such. It is very frightful in appearance. It is represented as trampling upon a demon. In contrast to Akash Bhairava, its worship is not so regular and popular. There is no festival in its honour. One of the chief functions which this deity serves is to preside over the oath-taking. The common belief in this connection is that if a person tells a lie before this deity, he would die of blood vomiting. Therefore a person wanting to extort truth from another person takes him or her to this place and asks to make the statement.

The belief in the power of this deity is so staunch that no one ever dares tell a lie in its presence. In the past the officials were sworn in in the presence of this deity on the occasion of annual 'paijñi', a custom under which the Government servants had to be annually reappointed in their respective posts.¹⁴ Kal Bhairava enjoys a fairly better status outside the Valley in places such as Ridi and Palpa in the western Nepal. Tradition ascribes the introduction of Kal Bhairava in Palpa to ^{King} the Mukund sena from the Kathmandu Valley.¹⁵ In each of these places, the chief temple is dedicated to this deity. In his honour an annual festival is held in which the local Newars participate in large numbers. Looking to the nature and worship, Kal Bhairava ~~it~~ appears to be a later addition to the already existing Bhairavas of Nepal. Tradition assigns that it was brought from Banaras. The temple of Kal Bhairava in Banaras supports this view.

Another important Bhairava which is more aboriginal in form is the 'Bagh Bhairava'. As the name indicates, this deity is worshipped in the form of a tongueless tiger with a gaping mouth. Its temple is situated in the settlement of Kirtipur. This deity is worshipped as the presiding deity of the region and in its honour an annual festival is held

14. Landon, P. - Op. cit. Vol. II, p. 12.

15. ^{Northey and Morris} Op. cit. p. 21.

on the day of 'Singha Sankranti' (the ^{1st of the} ~~7th~~ ^{half} dark of Bhadrapad). For the Newars of Kirtipur and adjoining regions, its Jatra is the chief event of the year, which involves festivity and merriment. While the local castes such as the 'Vanras' and Shresthas' are connected with its worship, it appears to be primarily the godling of the Jyapoos, who strongly believe in its power of ensuring peace and protection. There is no doubt that the temples of Bhagwati and Buddhas abound in Kirtipur, but although these are popularly worshipped, these do not figure much in the daily life of the 'Jyapoos'. The fact that many 'Jyapoo' families of Kirtipur, Panga and Nagaum regard 'Bagh Bhairava' as their Kul-deity indicates the intimate connection of this deity with them. Even the story of its origin connects it with the local 'Jyapoos'. It is said that some 'Nanda Gwa' (Cowherd) boys while tending their cattle in the ancient time when the Kirtipur region was a dense forest made a clay tiger. Leaving the work there they went away into the forest to bring a leaf to supply the clay tiger's mouth with^d tongue. On their return they were astonished to see the clay tiger turned into a real tiger, and the cattle were missing. On being asked where the cattle had disappeared the tiger opened its mouth and the 'Nanda Gwa' boys saw the cattle huddled up in ~~his~~ belly. It was thus that the 'Bagh Bhairava' came

into being.¹⁶ It is in keeping with the traditional story that even to this day it is the hereditary function of a 'Jyapoo' family to bring a leaf from the forest and put it in the tiger's mouth to represent the tongue. If we were to believe this traditional story, it connects the tiger god's origin with the ancient cowherds' 'Nanda Gwa', who had established the first ruling dynasty in the Valley. The fact that the Kirtipur region and especially Thankot lying farther south to the Valley still form the main habitat of the 'Gwala' or 'Nanda Gwa', who is now merged in the Jyapoos, further substantiates the origin of the 'Bagh Bhairava' among the cowherd people. In this connection it may be mentioned that the cult of the orange tiger 'Bhairava' shows ^{strangely} its affinity with 'Baghoba' or 'Vaghdeo' in Maharashtra whom G.S.Ghurye mentions in his book on the Mahadeo Koli.¹⁷

A feature which is worth mentioning in this connection is that the temple priest of 'Bagh Bhairava' belongs to the low-caste 'Kusle'. The 'Kusle' is in charge of 'Nitya Puja' (Daily worship) and whatever offerings are made to the deity, are appropriated by him. On important religious occasions however a 'Vanra' acts as the priest.

16. Wright, D. - Op. cit. p.p. 161-162.

17. Ghurye, G.S. - Mahadeo Koli, Bombay, 1957, p. 42.

From the point of view of the people from other regions in the Valley, 'Bagh Bhairava' is not so popular. They simply regard it as one of the forms of Bhairava, but they rarely come to Kirtipur with the specific intention to worship at its temple.

Outside the Valley the only place where Bhairava is worshipped in tiger form is the Nayakot Valley, further north. Nayakot being situated at a lower level (about 2,000 ft. above^{the} sea level) than Kathmandu, is warmer and very notorious for devastating 'Awal fever'. In Nayakot Bhairava as a tiger god is not only greatly feared and worshipped, but also its festival is the greatest annual event there. The festival is however more popularly called after 'Bhairavi'. It is as much the belief among the local Newars as among the non-Newars that at the close of the great festival of Bhairava in the middle of April, the local goddess 'Bhairavi' releases the destructive plague upon all who ventures to trespass the tiger's favourite haunt in the Tarai.¹⁸ Its annual festival is marked by many sacrifices of buffaloes in order to appease the goddess and her consort (see details under Jatra). The

18. Landon, P. - Op. cit. Vol. II, p. 28.

chief participants in the festival are the 'Jyapoos' and 'Vanras'; the non-Newars are merely spectators. Of the two tiger Bhairavas worshipped respectively at Kirtipur (in the Kathmandu) and Nayakot, the latter may definitely be regarded as older since it is stated to be one of the most ancient Bhairavas of Nepal.

Another Bhairava which commands the belief and worship of the Newars is the 'Pachhali Bhairava'. The term 'Pachhali' is derived from 'Panchalinga' (five phallus-idols). The term itself is suggestive of the form of the deity which is said to be of five phallus idols now covered under the stones.¹⁹ The symbol of linga clearly indicates that it is one of the forms of Shiva. But strangely enough this deity is identified by the Newars with the demon 'Bir Phadra', a reference to which occurs in the Sosthani.²⁰ It is believed that he is the King of Phirping, a region to the southern extremity of the Valley. Meat, ducks, eggs and liquor constitute the main items of offerings in its worship. In spite of the belief that it is not supposed to accept blood, the sacrifices of animals, particularly ducks forms the chief event in its propitiation. But the Newars

19. Wright, D. - Op. cit. p. 214.

20. Sosthani is a sacred story like Satyanarain Katha which is very popular among the Nepalese. It deals with a Brahmini who had to bear the consequence of enraging Shiva.

cleverly cut the Gordian knot by making the sacrifice in a quadrangular place known as 'Betal' just a few yards away from the deity, which is supposed to be its resting place. According to Levy, 'Pachhali Bhairava' is the protector of the soil ('Kshetra pal') of the southern region of the universe.²¹

This deity is more closely connected with the 'Jyapoos', 'Manandhars' and 'Kasai', than with any other Newars. Its special connection with the 'Jyapoos' can be seen from the fact that after its annual festival, the mask-head of this deity is kept in the house of a 'Jyapoo' family and worshipped daily by the 'Thakali' as a family deity. The annual 'Jatra' (festival) is also the occasion for the 'Wala' ceremony of the 'Jyapoo' and 'Manandhar' boys. The boys go there and spend a night in fast and return home next day when the mask of the Bhairava is brought in procession to the house of the 'Jyapoo' where it has to be kept and worshipped during the year.

Another Bhairava known as 'Ummateswar Bhairava' fulfils a different function in the life of the Newars of Kathmandu. Its temple stands near Pashu Pati with a huge

21. Levy, S. - Op. cit. Vol. II - p. 382.

stone idol, about five feet high with a long penis in erect posture. Women suffering from sexual frigidity or having complaints of menstrual irregularity go to worship the genital organ of the deity. It is believed that the mere sight of the deity is enough to render a woman seized with a strong sex desire. Besides, there are innumerable other Bhairavas who are feared, venerated and propitiated by the Newars. On important festival days innumerable masks of the Bhairavas are displayed in the streets. The most popular way is to represent the Bhairava engraved on a huge earthen jar filled with 'Janra'. It is not possible to enumerate them all and the nature of the difficulty can be judged from Levi's remarks that there are about five million Bhairavas in Nepal.²²

The Bhairavas are therefore most intimately connected with the life of the Newars than Shiva or Mahadeo. In their divine aspects, they are protectors, but they are equally wrathful and difficult to propitiate. They are always blood-thirsty. The aboriginal character of this deity can be seen from its being ritually connected with the lower caste Newars. The office of the 'devapala' in

22. Ibid.

the majority of cases is held either by a Jyapoo or a person from the depressed caste. In all the domestic ceremonies Bhairava is represented by a jug containing 'Janra' (rice bear). Rice bear is therefore an indispensable part of the cult of Bhairava.

Bhairava is worshipped also as the godling which presides over the physical force. Any object that symbolizes power is regarded as Bhairava and worshipped. The comparative rarity of Hanuman worship is perhaps explicable from the function assigned to the Bhairavas. The Bhairavas are believed to dwell on the wheels of the car of 'Machhandra nath', 'Kumari' and 'Bhairavi'. Before the deities are drawn in a procession during their festivals the figure of the Bhairava engraved on the front part of the yoke of the car and wheels have first to be worshipped and animal sacrifice made to them. Bhairava therefore is symbolised, apart from its destructive form of Shiva, as the divine instrument of locomotion. During Navaratri even automobiles are offered goat sacrifices as these are believed to represent Bhairava.

With regard to the female pantheons of the Newars, they are as numerous as their male counterparts. Every god

god is believed to have his female associate. Even the Buddhist pantheon, we have noted, is not without its respective 'Taras' (wives). Thus the Newar conception of the family of gods is only a reflection of their own family organisation. These goddesses are worshipped in their diverse manifestations ranging from the highest female triad to the local 'Mai' (mother) which is more popularly known as 'Ajima'.

Among the three higher goddesses, Saraswati, Laxmi and Parbati, the first occupies the most popular position in the Newars religious life. Saraswati is regarded by them not only as the goddess of learning, but also^{as} a symbol of creation. The Valley of Kathmandu abounds in her temples. Every locality, as in the case of Ganesh, owns its own Saraswati temple. On the Sri Panchami day the Hindu Newar boys and girls flock to her temple for the purpose of being initiated into schooling. Besides, on the occasion of marriage and 'Kaita Puja', the worship of Saraswati forms an important aspect of the rituals.

The Buddhist Newars replace the name Saraswati with 'Manjusri'. Under this new name, the deity is worshipped as a male god. According to the Buddhist mythology of Nepal,

'Manjusri' is said to have come from China and converted the Lake into a fertile Valley. 'Manjusri' is regarded as one of the mortal 'Bodhi Satwas', besides being the god of learning and creation. 'Manjusri' is sometimes depicted with two hands and sometimes, with four, always holding a raised sword in the right hand. One of the chief functions of Manjusri is to preside over handicrafts. Dr. Oaldfield mentions that in the spring^{-Season} Newar woman used to take their girls to the shrine of 'Manjusri' at the 'phool-Choa' mountain as soon as the girls learnt to operate the spinning wheel.²³ There they worship the handle of the spinning wheel along with Manjusri. Between Manjusri and Saraswati there does not seem to be any difference of function. Both are required to render the same service to their respective followers. It is difficult to say whether these two deities are one and the same or different. But in the western part of the hill of 'Swayambhu' there is a temple dedicated to the divinity of learning. The Hindu Newars worship this deity as Saraswati and the Buddhist as Manjusri.

Laxmi is more popularly known as Mahalaxmi among the Newars and her picture is worshipped by the Newars in

23. Oaldfield, H.A. - Op. cit. Vol. I. p. 66.

their houses. But she does not have an independent temple of her own which explains the reason why she rarely figures in the practical life of the Newars. 'Parbati', though believed and worshipped, is not so popular. The two other goddesses worshipped as wives of the higher gods are 'Brahamayani' and 'Indriani'. The former is the wife of Brahma, the creator and the latter of Indra. But these two do not enjoy as high a status as the female triads mentioned earlier. In fact they are worshipped on par with the lower forms of female deities and regarded as forming part of the 'Ashta matrikas'.

Like Bhairavas, the female godlings are most popular among the Newars in their lower aspects. These are variously known as Durga, Bhagwati, Kali, Mai or Ajima and Kumari. These various lower deities are worshipped predominantly on account of their practical importance. They are more feared than venerated. What provokes their worship is the urge to keep them pacified so as to avoid any calamity on the community. Of such deities, Guheshwari is the supreme one. She is a form of Kali. Her temple is located near the shrine of Pashupati nath. She is worshipped in the form of a whole and is regarded by the Buddhist

Newars as the place where the root of the lotus flower on which 'Adhi Buddha', the self existent one appeared in the form of a flame. The Hindus regarded it as the anus of Uma. When Uma died of jumping into the sacrificial fire, her berieved husband Mahadeo carried her corpse on his shoulders and began to wander from place to place in a state of madness. Different parts of Uma's corpse fell at different places giving rise to 'Pithas'. The part consisting of her 'Yoni' (vagina) fell at Kamrup or Kauru Kamaksha while the anus dropped in the Valley. According to both Hindu and Buddhist interpretations, Guheshwari symbolically represents fertility and is the supreme goddess of the Valley. Her function in the Newar life is an important one. In practically all the Newar domestic ceremonies she is indispensable. She is represented in such ceremonies by a copper jug known as 'Anti' filled with home made liquor. In the Parbatia's domestic ceremonies however, this deity does not figure at all.

Guheshwari is worshipped in her temple by all the Hindus and Buddhist Newars. For Buddhist also she is the highest form of female deity on par with 'Adi Buddha'. A festival is held in her honour on the tenth^{of the} dark^{half} of Margsir.

Her priest is an 'Achaju' Newar, and the Deo-pala is a 'Kasai'. Another caste which has a function to fulfil in relation to her is the 'Manandhar' which has to worship her once in a month. Animal sacrifice is profusely made in honour of this goddess.

Durga or Kali is also popular among the Newars. The most popular temple dedicated to Durga is the one at Bhaktapur. But this deity is accorded more local worship. The famous temple of Kali is that of Dakkhin Kali on the top of the hill of Firping to the south of Kathmandu. Her idol is formed by a ghastly figure totally mongoloid in features as distinct from the idols of other divinities. Its temple priest is an 'Achaju' Newar and the 'Kasai' the Deva pala.

There are other forms of Kali or Durga. Typical of them is the 'Talleju Bhagwati', who is a sectional deity. In Nepalese mythology she is mentioned as 'Tulja Bhawani', the Kul-deity of Hari Singh Deo, a descendent of the Karnatic Prince Nanya Deo. According to the tradition this deity had remained buried under the waters of Saryu river in Ajodhya. One day she appeared in^a dream to the King of Ajodhya and asked him to restore her from her abode

of water. With Nanya deo, she was brought to 'Simirawn Garha' where she was worshipped as the Kul deity of the Karnatic dynasty. The traditional story goes on to say that she expressed to Hari Singh deo her wish to be brought into the Valley of Kathmandu. Later the Malla Kings of Nepal regarded her as their Kul-deity and in all the four Malla capitals—Bhaktapur, Kathmandu, Patan and Kirtipur her temples stands. All these temples are within the precincts of the palaces of former Newar kings. During the ^ehey-day of the Mallas, she was the supreme deity, but now she has been relegated to the back-ground. Her temples are open to the public only during Navaratra when she is offered buffalo sacrifices. The Malla Newars still look upon her as their Kul-deity and to them besides the priest Joshi Newar, is reserved the right of touching her idol. She still commands high veneration and worship from all the Newars as she is sentimentally connected with them. The Parbatia or non-Newar Hindus of the Valley also look upon her as Bhagwati and make their offerings ^{to her} ~~by~~ only in their capacity as Hindus. On the contrary, ^{the} Newars are connected with her as she forms a part of Newari culture. Durga or Kali is worshipped also as 'Joginis'. Of the temples dedicated to her are Bajra Jogini (at Sankhu), Bijeshwari (at Kathmandu), Khadga Jogini (at

and Nila Tara Jogini. They all accept animal sacrifices. Liquor and 'Janra' form the necessary accompaniments of their worship. For most of the Newars they are not the objects of worship. But in their annual festivals all go to worship them. The non-Newars look upon them as different forms of Kali or Durga, but do not indulge in regular worship.

Next come in order a number of deities all classed as 'Varahis'. Of them there are again four principal ones. These are 'Sweta Varahi', 'Nila Varahi', 'Vajra Varahi' and 'Dhanwantri Varahi', located respectively at the four corners of the Valley. There are numerous minor idols of Varahis which are worshipped regionally. Varahis ensure protection of the buildings and temples.

The above mentioned forms of female pantheons are not so significant as are their lower forms. For they are connected with some of the intimate aspects of the Newar's practical life.

Of the female pantheon of the lower order, 'Ajima' ('Sitala') is regarded as the most malignant one. The ravage that small-pox spells in the Valley has made this goddess an indispensable part of Newar pantheons. With no

tradition of vaccination among the Newars, except among a few enlightened ones, small-pox is common among them. The belief in 'Ajima' is so strong that people are very much reluctant to get themselves vaccinated. In the Panga Village, the writer was given to understand that it was hard to find a person among the older generation with small pox vaccination. Even among persons of younger generation, cases of vaccination could be met ^{with} ~~in~~ only ⁱⁿ a few 'Shrestha' families. It is not uncommon to meet large numbers of people with small pox marks. Recently, Government had been popularising the vaccination, but with little or no success.

'Ajima' is also the goddess of infant diseases. Whenever a child falls ill, the natural thing for a Newar to do is to worship this deity. In the absence of such worship, the local physicians refuse to attend to the case. 'Ajima' is believed to have six more sisters and this belief corresponds to the seven kinds of pox diseases prevalent in the Valley of Kathmandu.

As 'Ajima' figures very prominently among the Newars, it is also accepted as one of the members of the

Buddhist pantheon. The principal place of worship is at the temple of Swayambhu, where the priest is 'Vanra'. In the domestic worship of 'Ajima', the 'Aji' or the professional midwife acts as the priestess. Among the items of food to be offered to this deity, pieces of frog's dried meat are the most essential ones. The 'Kasais' are the customary dealers in this kind of ritual meat. 'Ajima' is regarded by the Buddhist as the mother of Sakya Sinha (Gautama Buddha) in the course of one of his many human incarnations.

The other lower forms of Durga or Kali worshipped are the various 'mais' (mothers), endowed with malignant powers, whose propitiation and appeasement, therefore, are essential for the protection and tranquility of the community. One cannot draw a clear line of demarcation between the 'Ajimas' and 'Mais'. Very often they are substituted one for another, and called 'Ajima' as 'Bhairava' is called 'Aju'. Such 'mais' are represented by a number of round stones. The important temples dedicated to these Mais in the Valley are 'Lumari Mai' (also known as 'Bhadrakali'), 'Luti Mai', 'Kankeshwari Mai' (also known as 'Ajima'), 'Luchumari Mai', 'Indriani', 'Swa Bhagwati', 'Maite devi' and 'Nar devi'. Almost all the temples of these 'mais',

with the exception of 'Nara devi' and 'Bhadrakali', are situated on the Newar cremation grounds over which they are supposed to preside. These 'mais' are also supposed to be the guardian deities of their respective localities. Every year a festival is held in honour of each of them. Each of them is connected with some particular caste whose members are the members of the 'Guthi' charged with the management of the temple. A very important fact to note in connection with these malignant female deities of the lower order is that, their 'dev palas' are invariably drawn from the untouchable castes of 'Fore', 'Kusle', 'Kasai' and 'Chyame', who are entitled to touch these deities. During the annual festivals however the 'Vanra' priest or some 'Achaji' or 'Joshi' may perform the priestly functions.

'Swa Bhagwati' is regarded as the goddess of witchcraft. The Newars believe that witches frequent her temple in the mid-night to invoke this goddess.

'Bisen devi' the presiding deity of the Village of Panga belongs to this class of female goddesses. Her temple is situated at ~~the~~ two different places - one in the centre of the village where she receives daily worship

from the 'Kusle' priest. In her aboriginal form she has a temple at Bhajangle, a little distance away towards the east of the Village where she is supposed to preside over the crematorium. There she is represented by a few rounded stones arranged in a row. At the time of her annual festival, the people of Panga and the adjoining villages participate and it is the chief event for the local community. Goats and buffaloes are sacrificed to her. Liquor and 'Janara' are profusely offered to the deity. The sphere of influence of Bisen devi is however restricted to the Panga region only.

An important type of 'Mai' deity is 'Annapurna' whose temple is situated in the locality of Asan in Kathmandu. This deity is represented by a big 'Pathi' (grain measuring pot) which serves to indicate its role as the goddess of corns. It is said to be the Kul deity of the 'Thaku-Ju-Ju' Newars. She presides over the grain market situated in that locality.

These 'mais' are also known by the general appellation as Bhairavis, the consorts of Bhairavas and represent the destructive force of females.

In the worship of the female divinity the Newars are an unique people in as much as they have the practice of

worshipping a human being, called 'Kumari'. This is entirely a Buddhist cult but nevertheless equally accepted by the Hindu Newars for worship. In every Bahal, a girl who has no scars on her body is worshipped as Kumari, on par with the Kali or Durga. The worship of human 'Kumari' is a preliminary to all domestic ceremonies of the Newars. Besides this Bahal's 'Kumari', there is the office of the main 'Kumari' recognised as 'Kumari' of the State. ^(Photograph 97) The expenses connected with her office, is met by a special endowment, called 'Kumari Guthi'. She has her abode at Kathmandu. This state-'Kumari' is periodically selected from among the 'Vanra' girls on the last night of Navaratra. The girl is left alone in a room where the heads of hundreds of sacrificed buffaloes are piled up. She is asked to tread her way over the heads of the buffaloes. If she does not show signs of fear, she is considered fit to be selected as a Kumari, and is then installed in the office. Annually a festival is held in her honour during which she is drawn in a car through the streets. The same night when her car is brought back to her place, the King has to come for paying his homage to her as stated elsewhere. It is a general belief of the Newars that the Valley of Nepal belongs to the Kumari and therefore every year the ruler has to receive from her a fresh mandate to rule the country till the next 'kumari

jatra'. In addition to her propitiation during the 'Kumari' festival, she receives regular worship during the Navaratra.

The Kumari is at once replaced when she is known to be approaching the stage of her first menses. The replacement is done in the manner already described above.

An 'ex-Kumari' can marry and lead a family life. But men are usually reluctant to marry her. Because she is regarded as an unusual woman. As the belief goes, a husband of an ex-Kumari rarely survives, if ever. In Kathmandu the writer came across an ex-Kumari living as a spinster at the age of over 50. Two other 'ex-Kumaries' were also met with who were comparatively young, but widows. The writer was told that their husbands had died very shortly after their marriage. The 'Kumari' is looked upon with much veneration *even* by the non-Newarises, including the Gorkhas. But in their ceremonies and rituals she does not figure at all.

Of the deified saints and heroes who form the objects of worship by the Newars, Manjusri and Machhendra Nath get the most prominent place. We have already described the role played by Manjusri as a Buddhist male substitute for Saraswati. As regards the origin of this deity there

is some controversy. According to the Nepalese chronological history, he came from China from a place known as Pancha Shirsha Parvat.²³ Levi gives a masterly account of this deity. He places the location of Pancha Shirsha Parvat, known in Chinese as 'Out-tai-chan' to the South West of Peking. Here a huge temple probably of Acoka's time is consecrated to Manjusri. On balancing the facts, Levi comes to the conclusion that Manjusri belongs to the Buddhism of India which was adopted by China and passed on to Nepal when Sino-Nepalese relations came to be established. The same writer is of further opinion that Manjusri was at first a Hindu deity.

Machhendra Nath is the most popular among these saints and heroes and is associated with the agricultural life of the Valley. The temple consecrated to this deity is situated on the banks of Bungamati river to the south of Patan town. There is also another temple in Patan whose construction is attributed to King Narendra deva. The idol of 'Machhendra Nath' is annually brought from Bungamati in the month of Margsir and kept in the temple of Patan. It is taken back to Bungamati after its festival is over

23. Levi, S. - Op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 333-334.

Machhendra nath is represented by a roughly hewn block of wood of a dark red colour,²⁵ which shows its original character. The Newars regard its festivals as the greatest of all their national festivals.

Regarded as the god of rain and harvest, Machhendra is most intimately connected with the agricultural life of the Newars. The sentiments woven round this deity can be comprehended only when we take into account the great difficulty the people of the Valley must have faced in the past to import food grains owing to the peculiar geographical conditions which isolate it from the outside world. Besides, the productivity of ^{the} soil itself is absolutely dependent on the rain-fall it receives. The rivers being very deep with their precipitate banks, are hardly useful for irrigation purposes unless they are swelled with rain water. The numerous streams originating from the surrounding hills overflow only during the rainy season thereby becoming useful for irrigation. It is therefore only natural that the inhabitants whose very existence depended on the local agricultural products should look upon Machhendra nath as a benevolent deity, concerned

25. Landon, P. - Op. cit. Vol. II, p. 212.

not only with the causing of rain but also with feeding the people. It is the general belief of the Newar that Machhendra never allows any person to go without his daily meal. This belief finds its reflection in a traditional story which shows the regularity and punctuality of Machhendra in the discharge of his function. The story relates to an incident when his mother wanted to put him to a test. She kept an insect hidden in a small box, wrapped in many folds with papers, without his knowledge. Next morning when the box was opened, she found to her great surprise that there was a rice grain for the insect to feed upon, which was the deed of Machhendra's ~~doing~~. So she came to realise how her son was the primary agent for the existence of life on the earth. A Newar, while praying to him does not make ambitious demands. He simply says "Haku Jaki Sinke Ne De Ma" "O mother give me 'Hakuwa' rice and fermented raddish to eat". Incidentally it may be pointed^{out} that although Machhendra is regarded as a male god, in the above prayer he is addressed as mother, which reveals another social fact with which we shall deal later.

On the higher level, as we have noted elsewhere Machhendra is regarded as the manifestation of Padma Pani, the divine 'Bodhi Satwa' who is regarded as the creator and

protector of the present universe. The Hindus look upon him as the famous Hindu saint of the identical name. Although the appellation of Machhendra in general is thought to be derived from his being once in the form of a fish a belief also current in India, the Buddhists have their own variant of it. According to them once Padma Pani took the form of a fish in order to listen to the secret conversation between Shiva and Parvati and consequently was called Machhendra or Matsyendra.

The present god Machhendra nath worshipped by the Newars however reveals the fusion of at least three different personalities and thus leads us to discuss the history of their introduction into the Valley. Before that let us describe the present location of the temple of Machhendra nath. His temple is situated in the town of Patan where he is kept for six months preceeding his annual festival. For the other half of the year he is kept in another temple, further south on the bank of Bungamati river, where he is more popularly known as 'Bunga deya'. According to the tradition, the temple at the Bungamati is the original abode of the deity where he chose to remain. He however appears to have been brought from still further south. Sometime during the reign of King Narendra deva of

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Patan about the middle of the 7th century. The same tradition also says that Machhendhra had to be brought because of the long drawn out draught caused by Gorakh nath. Gorakh nath came to know that his spiritual guide (Machhendhra nath) was then living in the Kopotal mountain, engaged in meditation and as such he was not ordinarily accessible to anybody. Being anxious to meet his guru, he devised a plan. He caught the nine Nagas* of the Valley and sat over them for twelve years thereby causing a draught and anxiously expecting all the while Machhendhra nath to come to the rescue of the people. King Narendhra Deo of Patan sought the help of one Bandhudatta Acharya to relieve his country from the distress. They together went to the Kopotal mountain and requested the Lokeshwar, as Machhendhra was called there, to accompany them to the Valley. Having acceded to their request, Machhendhra took the form of a bee and entered into a Kalash and thus he was brought into the Valley. As soon as he arrived at the southern extremity of the Valley the long continued draught came to an end, and there was a heavy rainfall. Machhendhra nath finally decided to take his permanent abode at the river Bungamati where his temple stands to this day.

26. Levi, S. - Op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 349-50.

* Machhendhra nath exercises his power to cause rain through the instrumentality of the Nagas who are regarded as the agents.

The foregoing story thus puts the introduction of Machhendranath at as early as the 7th century. But the Valley which is known to have a civilization even prior to that period, must have ^{had} its own god of rain. This is indicated by the alternative term 'Buga' or 'Bunga' applied to designate the present Machhendranath. 'Buga' or 'Bunga' in Newari means a small brook. Levi is also of the opinion that 'Buga deo' is of local origin. He suggests that before Machhendranath came into the Valley, the local inhabitants already had a deity called 'Buga' who was baptised as the Lokeshwar of Kopotak mountain. Later, when Brahminism was able to assert itself, the followers of Gorakhnath imposed a new baptism and greeted it as their own master 'Matsyendranath'.²⁷ The period of the introduction of 'Machhendranath' tallies with the account of the Chinese traveller Wang Hsien Tse about the people living in the Valley. The Chinese traveller mentions that the people of Nepal shaved their heads to the level of their eye-brows, pierced their ears, wearing tubes of bamboos or oxen horns and it was a mark of beauty to have ear falling to the shoulders.²⁸ From such accounts we have the suggestion that the predecessors of Kaphata ascetics did live in the Valley round about that period and we can very well attribute to them, the introduction

27. Ibid. p. 356.

28. Levi, S. - Op. cit. Vol. II, p. 163.

of the cult of 'Matsyendra nath'. The present {Jogi' or 'Kusle' caste among the Newars serves to point out the earlier existence of such a class of ascetics.

Another fact which emerges from the discussion of Machhendrata nath is the confusion about his sex. Although Machhendrata is regarded as a male deity some of the features connected with him are essentially feminine in character. At the time of his festival, he is not only initiated through the ceremonies to be undergone by a Newar male individual, but also through 'Bara' and 'Yihe'. In addition, while referring to the act of restoration of the deity to its temple at Bungamati, the Newars say 'Bunga deo' has gone to her 'maitee'. Now 'maitee' is a term to be used only by a married woman when she refers to her parents' home. The use of the term 'Ma' (mother) while praying to him, also provides an additional ground suggesting the earlier female form of 'Bunga deo'. We are therefore led to conclude that the aboriginal 'Bunga deo' must have been a female deity who was later on transferred into a male one. We have found the same tendency in respect of Saraswati earlier.

The hold of Machhendrata nath over the minds of Newars remains as strong as ever, despite the fact that

much of the food grains needed in the Valley is now imported from outside, thanks to the newly constructed Tribhuvan Rajpath. His power to cause rain is as unquestionable as ever. How such belief gains strength may be seen from some of the experiences in the Valley. Landon²⁹ reports a very interesting incident in this connection. According to him in 1924 the spring had been unusually dry and fierce and there was a sore need of water every where, not only to enable the ploughing and sowing to begin, but even to provide the necessary drinking water. He was told that the moment the festival of Machhendra nath took place and the god was exhibited, there would be rain. Landon observes that there was a little rain fall when the god was exhibited. It is the firm belief not only of the Newars but also of the other Hindus, that on the day of the festival of Machhendra nath, rain is bound to fall.

The author's own experience in the Valley leads him to believe in the inexplicable association between Machhendra nath and rain, which enables him to appreciate the Newar beliefs and sentiments in a better light. In

29. Landon, P. - Nepal Vol. I, p.212.

June 1956 the author was living in the Panga Village in connection with his survey work when the festival of 'Machhendra' was to take place. People advised him not to go to watch the festival without an umbrella. As it was a clear sunny day, he did not expect that there would be rain. But to his great surprise he discovered that as the hour of exhibiting shirt of Machhendra nath was approaching, clouds began to gather in the sky and after sometime it started raining heavily for an hour or so.

Apart from being the god of rain, Machhendra nath is at the same time regarded as the god of material prosperity.

There is also a temple of another Machhendra nath in the ^{town} ~~area~~ of Kathmandu. But this deity is not the same as 'Bunga deya'. It is called 'lesser Machhendra' or 'Red Machhendra'. Buddhist Newars identify him with 'Samanta Bhadra'. Its festival occurs on the Ram Naumi day which is described under the chapter on festivals.

Outside the Valley of Kathmandu Machhendra nath as the god of rain receives little attention from the Newars. Nor is there any festival in honour of this deity in these places except in Do-lakha to the east of the Valley.

Although god Matsyendra is the principal agent of rain, side by side the Newars have assimilated other cultural traits in this connection. For example, the practice of milking of cows over the dry sand of river Bagmati and the magical formula used for making artificial rain are cultural traits borrowed from outside. But all these are subordinated to the cult of Matsyendra who alone is believed to make these alternatives effective.

While Machhendranath is an integral part of *the* Newar society, Gorakhnath is not popular at all. It is a sectional deity and worshipped by the low-caste 'Jogi' or 'Kusle'. There is a temple consecrated to this saint in Kathmandu town just in front of the former Malla King's palace after which the town takes its name. It is called Keshat mandap. It is generally believed that the entire structure is made out of a single tree. The temple is, however, lying in ruins with a huge Shiva phallus in the centre of the hall. It is said that when Gorakhnath came into the Valley to meet Machhendranath he had performed his 'Nag Sadhana' at this particular place. The writer was informed that the Manandhar caste has to burn daily an oil

lamp on the top floor of this temple. But as stated earlier the 'Jogi' or 'Kusle' caste is more concerned with Gorakhnath than any other.

Gorakhnath receives high veneration from the Gorkhas who regard him as their patron deity. The original stronghold of the Gorkhas which is called Gorkha is situated to the north west of the Valley. This town is said to be named after Gorakhnath and the chief temple there is dedicated to this deity.

In the class^{of} deified heroes, Bhimsen occupies an outstanding place and is regarded as the god of wealth. He is particularly popular among the trading class. As the overwhelming trading population of the Newars comes from the 'Shrestha' and ^{the} 'Udas' caste, this deity may be regarded as comparatively more popular among them. The deity is worshipped on the first floor of the temple, a feature rarely to be met with in the case of other deities except Akash Bhairava. The priests and 'deva palas' are all from non-Brahmin castes. For example in Kathmandu these offices belong to the 'Vaura' and the 'Jyapoo', while in Bhaktapur these functions are performed by the 'Kusle'.

Bhimsen however does not appear to be of local origin. The main temple dedicated to this deity stands in Do-Lakha, a small Newar settlement far away to the east of the Valley. In this town even Shiva or Bhagwati is reported to be subordinated to Bhimsen. Unlike in the Valley of Kathmandu where its festival is of a sectional nature, in Dolakha and Chरिकot, its 'jatra' becomes the chief event.

Tradition also confirms that Bhimsen came into the Valley from this town.³⁰ The 'Thakoju ju' section of the 'chha-tharia' Newars regard it as their patron deity and even to this day tradition insists that the annual 'Jatra' of Bhimsen should start only when the 'Thakali' of the 'Thaku ju-ju' families ^{has} arrived at the scene. In the Kathmandu Valley Bhimsen's annual festival is not of national importance but only of a sectional character in which local Newars participate. The cult of Bhimsen is also shared by the other neighbouring tribes. Thus the 'Tharus' in the Tarai according to Mazumdar worship Bhimsen under the name of Bhumsen.³¹

30. Wright, D. - Op. cit. p. 96.

31. Mazumdar, D.N. - Fortunes of Primitive Tribes, Lucknow, 1944, p. 109.

Crooke described him as one of the chief deities of the 'Gonds'.³² In Nepal, the 'Tamangs' in the adjoining region of the Valley also worship Bhimsen. But it is not known whether the 'Tamangs' in the region enclosed by the Sun Kosi river and the Likkhu Khola, described by Furer-Haimen-dorf as the place of their main concentration, regard Bhimsen as one of their principal deities. For there is no reference to this god in his writing on Tamangs.³³ It may be that this cultural trait may have been due to the influence of the Newars, since the Tamangs living at the higher altitudes are not known to possess it. Levi tells us that the temples and chapels consecrated to this deity are found along the traditional route from India to the Valley. Bhimpedi at the foot of the hills owes its name to him.³⁴ Whatever way Bhimsen might have been introduced into the Valley, its popular worship among the Newars as the giver of wealth is an unique thing which is so different from its worship in the other ^{region} ~~part~~. In addition to Bhimsen, Laxmi, Basundhar and Nagas are the additional objects of worship for wealth and prosperity. The popularity of Bhimsen transcends the frontiers of the Valley and receives worship and veneration wherever the Newar traders are to be found.

32. Crooke, W. - Religion and Folklore of Northern India, p.176.

33. Eastern ^{anthropologist} ~~Anthropology~~, Vol. IX, No.2, 1956, pp. 166-177.

34. Levi, S. - Op. cit. Vol. II, p. 385.

'Gado-ju-ju' of Thamel in Kathmandu is another deified human beings which receives worship. 'Gado-ju-ju' is supposed to be one of the ancient Vaishya Thakari Kings of the Valley. The very term 'ju ju' means a King in Newari. This deity is more familiarly known as 'Chaka deya'. An annual festival is held on the first^{of the} dark^{-half} of Chaitra in his honour.

God Vishwa Karma is worshipped by the Newar artisan castes such as 'Vanra' (goldsmith), 'Udas' (Bronze, copper workers and carpenters) and those 'Shresthas' who have taken to the avocation of carpentry and house building. The Nepali speaking 'Kami' caste (untouchable) also shares the worship of god Vishwakarma. The unpopularity of this god with the Gorkhas is chiefly attributable to the absence of artisan caste among them.

Demon worship is practised by some of the Newar castes. Of such deities, Akash Bhairava has already been described. Another demon who is worshipped is the 'Lakhe'. The 'Ranjit kar' caste (dyer) regards it as its household deity and a mask representing it is worshipped by the Thakali of the clan. During the period of Indra Jatra, the mask is worn by one of their castemen, and then the mask dancer is

believed to be possessed with the spirit of the 'Lakhe' demon. Buffalo, goat and duck are profusely sacrificed to the mask. Liquor is one of its favourite drinks.

Like Bhairavas, and Bhairavis, the Nagas are as popular as they are numerous. They are connected with rain and are the custodians of treasures. The very name of 'Nag-hrid' or 'Naga Vasa' given to the Valley of Nepal in its traditional history shows the predominance of such belief. It is believed that there are nine different Naga gods of different colours in the Valley. They are charged with different functions. Varuna, the Vedic god is also regarded as one of them. He is described as of white colour with seven chaperons of precious stones, a lotus and a jewel in his hands. In the east of the Valley dwells 'Naga Ananta', dark blue in colour; in the south 'Padmaka' with the colour of lotus stem; in the west 'Takshaka', saffron in colour; in the north lives 'Vasuki', greenish in colour; in the southwest 'Sankhapala', yellowish in colour; in the northwest, 'Kulika', white with 30 chaperons; in the northeast, the abode of 'Mahapadmini', golden in colour; and lastly, in the southeast, lives 'Karkotaka' of blue colour and is characterised by the forepart of a human figure and the tail of a serpent

who is said to be much conscious of his deformity. During the reign of King Guna Kama deva, it is said that a serious draught occurred in the Valley. The king sought the help of Santikar to get the Nagas to cause rain. Thus from the very ancient time the cult of Naga is found among the local people in connection with rain.

Of all these Nagas, 'Karkotak' receives the highest honour and veneration. According to the tradition when the Valley was a lake, innumerable Nagas used to dwell in it. The opening of an outlet on the southern mountain by Manjusri or Vishnu caused the water of the Lake run out in the form of the river Bagmati. The lake having been dried all the Nagas left their former abodes except 'Karkotak' who consented to live in the 'Taudah', a big tank still in existence to the southern extremity of the Valley. The Newars still regard it as the abode of 'Karkotak'. In the event of a draught, the peasants go to the tank and worship 'Karkotak'. As part of such worship a golden snake is slipped into the tank. The general belief is that as soon as the golden snake is slipped into the water it becomes a live serpent and begins to swim. According to the tradition, it is the privilege of the Panga Newars to drop the golden snake into the tank as it is also their privilege to throw water over Machhendra nath whenever there arises the need for praying to the deity for rain.

An incident connected with the Naga god 'Korkotak' and his wife reflects some of the sentiments of the Newars. Beneath the water of 'Taudah' tank, it is believed, there is a big palace wherein 'Karkotak' lives with his wife. Once the queen of 'Korkotak' suffered from an eye sore* King Karkotaka approached a 'Vaidya' (Physician) in the guise of a Brahman to fetch the latter home. When the Vaidya reached the 'Taudah' tank, he was asked by him to shut his eyes and jump into the water. The moment the physician shut his eyes, he found himself in the subterranean palace of the Naga King made of gold, diamonds and other jewels. The queen was seated on the throne. The Vaidya cured her of her eye sore. He was again asked by 'Korkotak' to shut his eyes, and when he did it, he found himself on the bank of the tank. This belief of the people regarding Karkotak's richly abode beneath the water is very inveterate even today.

The Nagas are not immune from human weakness, which again is a reflection of the Newar life. An aged 'Jyapoo' of Panga related to the writer a strange story in this connection. He told him that the wife of 'Karkotak' was once committing adultery with another Naga when 'Jyapoo' caught her flagrante delicto and angrily hit her on the back

* Eye sore is a common disease in the Valley of Kathmandu.

with his 'nole'*. The queen ran away in fear and pain. Later she complained to 'Karkotak' about it and wanted her husband to punish the 'Jyapoo'. 'Karkotak' came to the village of Panga and hid himself on the ceiling of the 'Jyapoo's' house. As he was about to bite at the accused jyapoo, the latter realizing the situation asked him the reason for his vengeance^d. The Jyapoo however explained why he beat the Naga queen. 'Karkotak' went back and demanded explanation from his wife. His wife confessed her guilt, after which she was only beaten for her wrong act but not driven out. This story serves to indicate not only how the relationship between the Newars and the Nagas is inter-woven, but also their traditional attitude towards matters of sex of which a lenient view is taken.

After 'Karkotak', 'Vasuki' is the most popular of the Nagas of Nepal. Levi says that his cult is particularly associated with that of Pashupati.³⁵ A traditional story connected with it relates as to how he killed a 'Naga' of Chaubal, who wanted to steal the 'Rudraksha' of Pashupati.³⁶

* A bamboo pole for carrying loads at its two ends by balancing it on the shoulder.

35. Levi, S. - Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 323.

36. Ibid. pp. 323-324.

It is to this Naga that the credit is given for making the other Nagas non-aggressive. He is also responsible for the absence of theft and serpent bite in Kathmandu in the ancient times;³⁷

Next in importance comes the third Naga Takshak. This deity appears to be much favoured in the local Buddhist scriptures and reveals the conflict between the followers of Vishnu and Buddha. According to tradition, 'Takshaka' came to the Valley to perform penance at Gokarna before Pashupati, when 'Garuda', the carrier of Vishnu attacked it, whereupon Vishnu came to the aid of Garuda while 'Awalokiteshwara' (Buddha) pounced upon Vishnu; peace was however concluded between the two parties. As a result 'Takshaka' coiled himself round the neck of Garuda as a sign of mutual friendship. This is represented by the present idol of 'Changu Narayan' which is seen carrying Lokeshwar on his shoulder.

Besides the above main Nagas every stream, well, tank and confluence of the rivers is believed to be inhabited by a Naga. Like the Newars, the Nagas are believed to go

37. Ibid. p.p. 324.

out of their abodes on 'Sithi Nakha' (on the sixth of the bright half of Jaistha), the last day of 'Digu Deya' (Diwali) Puja to worship their respective 'Diwali deities. That is why this day is selected by the Newars for cleaning the local wells as it is thought that it would be emptied of the Nagas.

Besides being the rain-giver, the 'Nagas' are believed to help the Newars in many ways. They cure illness, give health, ensure peace, bestow riches, protect the house and also bestow upon the Newars all kinds of material prosperity.

It is a taboo among the Newars to kill a snake although some of the educated men who have been influenced by the modern ideas, may ignore the traditional taboo. But for the majority of Newars serpent killing is a sacrilege. The 'Jyapoos' are often seen to pray to a snake with folded hands whenever they come across it in the fields.

Every Newar house is supposed to be presided over by its own snake. Among the men of older generation, there is still a firm belief that a snake is supposed to be found coiled up in their treasure-box. The discovery

of black snake or of a dead snake of any colour in the house is interpreted to be a bad omen. Such a happening is sure to bring disaster to the family. 'Hawans' are therefore performed to counteract the evil consequence. Whenever a snake is seen in the house or in the vicinity, incense is burnt as a mark of respect to the reptile.

Though the 'Parbatias' and other Hindu communities, also believe in, and practise the cult of Naga, they however do not seem to show the same attachment as the Newars do. Whenever they see a snake, they would not refrain from killing it, an act which is forbidden for the Newars. On the Nag Panchami day the Newars share with the other Hindu communities the festival of Naga which involves worshipping a picture of Nagas with the offerings of milk and parched paddy.

Frog is another amphibious deity which is venerated by the Newars. It does not enter into the religious life of the other communities. The day on which it is propitiated is called 'Byancha Janake'. It falls on the 15th day of the bright half of Sravan, the day for the festival of 'Rakhi Purnima'. Among the Newars, it is the

'Jyapoo' farmers who are mostly connected with its worship. On the day of 'Byancha Janake', by which time the plants in the paddy fields are transplanted the Newar farmers go to their respective fields to worship the frogs by offering food consisting of boiled rice and nine types of pulses. After having offered the food they return home and never visit the fields for four days. Such worship of the frog is connected with the belief that it is the frogs who are responsible for rain on account of their loud croaking. According to the Newars of Panga, the frogs were once responsible for killing a 'daitya' who was led into the paddy field and made to get stuck up in the mud. Col. Waddel³⁸ (1890) writes that the frog worship is performed in the month of Kartik (October). Further he mentions that a priest was employed to utter the following incantations. "Hail Parmeshwara (Lord of the earth) I pray to thee to receive these offerings to send timely rain and bless our crops". The present writer could not come across any such worship. May be that it has since disappeared. In the veneration of frog the Newars are not an exceptional people. They seem to share this cultural trait with the people in the plain. O'Malley reports that the people of Darbhanga

38. Vide: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. IX, P. 322.

believe that the croaking of the frog is readily heard by Indra.³⁹ Although frog is regarded as the godling of rain, the 'Jyapoo' Newars do not object to eating it. Jugi Singh, a Jyapoo Newar from Panga confessed that he had once relished the frog's meat which he obtained from a 'Bhotia'.

Of the other animals which deserve to be mentioned are the cow, elephant, dog, crow, pig, ram and hen. Cow is held in the highest veneration both by the Buddhist and Hindu Newars. Besides daily worship, it receives the special religious attention of the Newars on the 'Kartik Amavasya', when she is worshipped on behalf of the household members. The belief centering round the cow is the same as to be found in the Hindu scriptures. Cow is identified on the one hand with Laxmi and on the other with the divine cow 'Kamadhenu'. Cow-dung and cow's urine are used by them, as by the other Hindus, for the purification of the house or of the individual. We might say that the Newars go even a step farther than the Gorkhas in the veneration of cow. This is clear from the taboo imposed by them on the employment of bullocks for ploughing the field. While the non-Brahman Gorkhas do not

39. Bengal District Gazetteer, Vol. VI, p. 33.

hesitate to yoke the cow to a plough such a practice would lead among the Newars to excommunication. They still depend on their traditional hoe which serves them as^a substitute for the bullock drawn plough. How rigid they are in adhering to this traditional custom can be seen from the following instance from outside the Valley. It was said that a few local Newars of Taksar chisa Pani (West Nepal) had started using bullocks and plough in preference to their customary hoe, resulting in their immediate excommunication.

Among the 'Shivamargi' Newars the cow is believed to help the dead ancestors to enter the heaven by opening the door with its horns. Such is the belief underlying the 'Gai Jatra' (the festival of cow). (See pages 618-22).

Elephant is supposed to be worshipped on the second of the bright half of the ~~Mumara~~ month of Kartik and is known as 'Kisi Puja' (Kisi means elephant). In the Valley of Kathmandu elephant is rare and people replace this animal by Ganesh. Elephant, however, continues to be worshipped by the 'Hale' section of 'Jyapoo' Newars of Kilagul in the heart of Kathmandu town. According to the local tradition the present site of Kilagul was covered

once with dense forests wherein elephants abounded. That tradition is preserved not only by worshipping a wooden elephant as a family deity, but also as 'Kisi Gane' (elephant Ganesh). The 'Pula Kisi' (elephant dance) is taken out during the Indra Jatra. Two persons from the 'Male' sub-caste put on the wooden front half of the elephant and personate the animal. During the dance, no one should go before the dancer with a cap on lest 'Kisi gane' is enraged.

The Hindu belief that the elephant is the riding animal of Indra is equally strong among the Newars.

Dog worship is an interesting feature in the religious life of all the Nepalese and especially among the Newars. Dog is venerated on many grounds; it is regarded as the faithful servant of Yudhistara'; it is also identified as a form of Bhairava or his riding animal. It is worshipped on the fourth of the dark half of Kartik. On this day it is very amusing to notice in the Kathmandu Valley almost all dogs with garlands round their necks and their foreheads bedaubed with vermilion.

Crow worship is performed a day preceding the dog worship. Crow is offered 'Pindas' by the 'Shivamargi'

Newars during the 'Mhyanuma' day ceremony on the 7th day of the death of a person (see page 927522). Such offering of Pindas is called 'Ko Bali Pind Tayegu'.

The deified ram, 'Bheda Singh' is worshipped in Kathmandu. It is located in a small pit at the crossing of two lanes. The local people regard it as a form of Bhairava. Pig is worshipped as 'Varahi' or 'Dhumbarai' and 'Simbha rai'. These two godling are mostly seen to be located on the sideways of the entrance to a temple and are venerated and believed in by both the religious sections of the Newars. Pig is much more importantly worshipped in Bhatgaon in the east where it receives the name of 'Bhukha deya', god of earthquake. It is believed by the local people that if this god shakes itself it is an indication of an earthquake. This deity is smeared with oil and vermilion as a part of its worship. It also receives all kinds of animal sacrifices. The priestly function connected with this deity is assigned to a person of 'Kumhale' (potter) caste.

There are a number of material objects and symbols worshipped by the Newars. Many of these are shared in common by the Hindus. Some of them have already been described in other contexts and need not be repeated here.

Of such objects, 'Dhupjya Bunjya' is an adoption from the Tebetan culture. It is a long pole with many coloured frills attached to it. Especially at the time of festivals a person goes on balancing and spinning it on his palm. It signifies the incessant movement of the soul, which never comes to a stop. This trait is not to be found among the high caste Hindu Newars. It is predominant only among the lower castes such as 'Jyapoos' and 'Manandhars' who have, to some extent, come under the influence of the Tebetan Lamas.

Two other important symbols of sacred nature are the 'Linga' and 'Yoni'. The Hindu Newars do not entertain any belief about these in striking contrast to the other Hindus. But their Buddhists' section has not only altered the physical patterns of such symbols but have also ^{given} ~~grafted~~ different meanings to them. They regard Linga as an emblem of the lotus in which the spirit of 'Adi Buddha', in the form of a flame was made manifest to 'Manjusri'; and the 'Yoni' is looked upon as the symbol of the sacred spring in which the root of the divine lotus was enshrined and which was the residence of the goddess Guheshwari or Dharma.⁴⁰

40. Oaldfield, H.A. - Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 203.

The carving of the images of the Buddhist divinities on the emblem of the 'Linga' and the 'Yoni' forming a sort of pedestal on which the column of Buddhist deities rises with its outer circumference bearing the figure of a serpent, of whose mouth and tail are joined up in the front,⁴¹ cannot obliterate the fact that the Linga and Yoni have been adopted by the Buddhists.

Another important symbol is the triangle of the Buddhist adoption of Yoni. According to Caldfield,⁴² it is a symbol of female creative power.

Tulsi plant is as much favoured by the Shivamargi Newars as by the other Hindus. Every house is supposed to keep a Tulsi plant for the daily worship. The higher caste Buddhist Newars do not worship it. They replace it with another plant which is known as 'Bhimpati' in Newari. The trunk of a tree in Kathmandu is regarded to have the efficacy of relieving toothache. People go there and drive a nail into it whenever they have toothache. An ordinary hole is believed to be a deity and called 'Kan deota', goddess of ear, which is located on the way to Patan from Kathmandu.

41. Ibid. p. 203.

42. Ibid.

This deity is propitiated with a view to be^{ing} free from ear trouble.

Peepal tree (*ficus religiosa*) is not so highly venerated by the Newars, a feature which contrasts with the practice of the Hindus in the plain. But there is one exception in this regard. The Peepal tree in Logan tole in Kathmandu is considered to be the mother of Machhendranath.

'Rudraksha' (seed of *Eleo-carpus* trees) as stated elsewhere is held in high reverence by all the Hindus, and the Hindu Newars are no exception to it. It is identified purely with Shiva and has not been assimilated into Buddhist beliefs and practices.

Rivers, Tanks and streams are sacred both for the Hindu and Buddhist Newars. The various 'tirthas' situated on the banks of these rivers and especially at their confluences serve to show as^{to} how important are these for the Newars. In their sacredness they compete with the Ganges. A person having a bath at any of these 'tirthas' is believed to receive different material benefits. Thus

Levi remarks that there is no river, no stream, no spring nor any humble thread of water which does not have its legends, its 'nagas' and its own qualities.⁴³ The origin of these various rivers, streams and mountains are described in the legendary history of Nepal as the works of gods, goddesses and divine human personalities. Some of the material benefits accruing from having a bath in these rivers and streams include cure of illness, good health and peace, royal power, rich clothes, abundant harvests, happiness, joy and love, beauty and destruction of enemy. There is only one 'Tirtha' however which destroys sin.⁴⁴ This tirtha is situated at the confluence of the Vishnumati and is an under current river Bhadra or Bhadramati, at the foot of Swayambhu. Many of these sacred rivers are believed to be the incarnation of the female goddesses.

Among these rivers and streams Bagmati receives the highest honour from all the inhabitants in the Valley. But so far as the more practical aspects of Newar life are concerned 'Vishnumati' receives greater attention and serves a more important function. The famous Buddhist

43. Levi, S. - Op. cit. Vol. I, p. 326.

44. Ibid.

'tirtha' - 'Lakha Tirtha' - is situated on its banks. The Newars of Kathmandu depend upon this river almost for all of their domestic ceremonies. All the Newar burning ghats connected with the town of Kathmandu are located on its banks.

We now come to a very significant Newar divinity which governs their clan organisation. It is called 'Dewali' or 'Digu Deya' and occupies an important position in the determination of Newar Kinship.

The term 'Dewali' appears to bear some affinity with a similar Sanskrit term 'Deva Ali' which means 'race, family or dynasty of gods'.⁴⁵ Dewali as the name of family deity among the Newars suggest their cultural affinity with the Northern India where village godlings are called Diwar,⁴⁶ and with the Marhathas whose sub-divisions are based on 'Devakas'. The introduction of the Dewali worship is said to have been introduced by one Vikram Kesari son of King Vikramjit⁴⁷ which suggests its borrowing from the region of Malwa.

45. Quoted by Crooke, W. in Religion and Folklore in Northern India, 1926, p. 88.

46. Ibid.

47. Wright, D. - Op. cit. p. 99.

The proper location of the 'Dewali' or 'Digu Deya' is the open field outside the settlement. It is represented there by a heap of stones. Some of the well-to-do Newars have erected walls around the place where their 'Dewalies' are located. Every where in the Valley of Kathmandu one does not fail to come across numerous heaps of stones representing the 'Digu Deya'. These stone-Dewali deities are known as 'Lo^mDigu'.

The worship of the 'Dewali' takes place twice a year which is known as 'Dewali Puja' and 'Nachha' (the lesser Puja). The main 'Dewali' worship takes place between the first of the bright half moon of Baisakh and the sixth of the bright half of Jaistha. The 'Nachha' takes place between the first of the dark-half night of the Bhadra and first of the bright half moon of Ashwin. Besides, the 'Dewali' deity receives daily worship in the 'Thakali's' home. The deities worshipped at the house of the 'Thakali' are mostly of conical shapes, and are known as 'Loon Digu' to distinguish it from 'Lo^mDigu'. But some of the Newars do not have their 'Loon Digu' of such shapes. It is reported that the shape of the deity in their case is represented by the female's productive organ. This is what one of Shrestha friends of the writer told.

Beliefs in spirit world is very strong among the Newars. But it is not uncommon among the other inhabitants of the Valley and also extends all over the country. Kathmandu is, however, believed to be the haunting place of such spirits and ghosts as frequently as it is numerous in gods and goddesses. The Newars in general believe that these spirits roam about freely at night. Of such supernatural beings, there are countless varieties; but these can be classified into a few broad categories. Of them 'Bhuta' enters Newar social life in many ways. Each locality is believed to have its own 'Bhuta' who dwells at the cross road. Such a spirit is called 'Chhwasa Ajima'. When the Newars speak of 'Chhwasa Ajima', they differentiate one from another by qualifying it with the name of the locality to which it belongs. It is significant to note here that there is a very thin line of distinction between the lowest form of 'Bhagwati' such as 'Ajima' (goddess of sitala) and the 'Chhwasa Ajima'. The former appears to be only a little higher than the latter in status. But both possess the evil power. These cross-road spirits called 'Bhutas' or 'Chhwasa Ajima' harm people only when they are deprived of their usual share of food. Of such places where 'Bhutas'

appear to abound the one is 'Singha Satal' in Kathmandu. 'Chhwasa Ajima's' influence has to be warded off by offering her food, whenever a feast, ceremony or any other social event takes place in the house of a Newar. The belief runs so strong among them that even those Newars who have migrated from the Valley to other regions continue to propitiate 'Chhwasa Ajima' and place some food at the nearest cross roads, according to the custom, believing always that such spirits dwell in those places.

When the Bhuta or Chhwasa Ajima possesses a person, he develops stomach pain, loss of appetite and gradual emaciation of the body. Small children are more susceptible to it. Especially the children's afflictions with ^{diarrhoea} ~~diarrhoea~~, crying sickness and fever are attributed to the 'Chhwasa Ajima'. In fact all infant diseases are supposed to be the work of such cross road spirits. This explains why the local physicians attend to the child's sickness only after having ascertained that the 'Chhwasa Ajima' has been propitiated by the child's family.

The only way to ward off the evil influence of this spirit is to offer some food to it. This is known as 'Bow-Taye-gu' in Newari which means placing a little quantity of wash water of rice, turmeric powder, and black mass pulse

at the nearest cross road. Although the 'Bow' wields evil power, its chief function is to protect the residents of locality.

The appellation of 'Preta' ^{is} as given to the spirits of those persons who had died of accident or whose souls have to lead such life on account of the sins committed by them. Persons committing suicide are also said to become ~~as~~ 'Pretas' who haunt the residences. This type of spirit is believed to be very harmful to human beings. The Valley is believed to contain hundreds of such 'Pretas' as a result of the earth-quake of 1934 when many people had died. A special sub-type of this is a household spirit called 'Sikha'. It is the spirit of a person who had been a member of the family and is therefore regarded as an ancestor's spirit. It is supposed to frequent the house whenever its 'Sradha' or the offering of 'Pindas' is not in order. When enraged, it possesses the members of the family, causing diseases, poverty and loss of peace. Its influence can be warded off only when proper 'Sradha' is performed to it.

Another sub-variety of it is called 'Khyaka'. It is a female spirit and is generally believed to be of two types - black and white. It is also a domestic spirit

and as such believed to haunt every house. The black one is dangerous and potent with calamitous mischiefs, whereas the white one is kind and bestows riches. Sometimes such a spirit is said to appear in human form in the disguise of an acquaintance or a member of the family or as a child's playmate.

A sub-variety of 'Khya' is 'Bara Khya' who dwells in such houses where a girl during 'Bara' has died. Persons living in such houses ^{are} ~~is~~ doomed to be unhappy. One of the couple it is believed is sure to die, if they live in such a house. Coincidence leads to the strengthening of such a belief. In 1957 the writer was living in Kathmandu as the guest of a friend. Just opposite to his residence there was a building where a 'Deva Bhaju' family was living. It was reported that the house was haunted by a 'Bara Khya'. It was rarely that a husband and wife could survive there. Either of them had always died just after having come to reside in that house. It is strange to say that the 'Deva Bhaju' who was then occupying the house, had lost his first wife. Even his second wife with whom he was living then appeared to be in no better health. How this belief works among the Newars could be judged from the number of other houses believed to be the dwelling places of 'Bara Khya'

which the writer had come across in the Valley. 'Bara Khya', it may be noted, has to be carefully propitiated daily when a girl undergoes 'Bara' during which time she is supposed to be under the influence of this spirit.

Yet another kind of spirit about which the Newars have firm belief is 'K^{hi}nichini'. It is a female spirit, very beautiful with her toes behind. Very often men are believed to be attracted by her and realise their mistake only when their eyes fall on her toes. This type of spirit is not however so numerous. During the night she is found standing at some corner of the street in order to beguile man. A typical instance of this was reported from Kirtipur. The writer was shown a place in the Manandhar tole where the 'K^{hi}nichini' was supposed to be seen very often.

Yet another kind of spirit believed by the Newars is 'Bosala' who appears as a white horse. It is a harmless spirit. Such a spirit is believed to dwell, as for example, at the 'Thahiti Kohabhal'. With regard to the measures adopted to meet with the situations caused by the spirit world, some of them have already been described. One of the measures, rather the last one is to counteract their influence by magical incantations and 'hawans' for which the Joshi

astrologers and 'Gubhaji' priests are employed. As the belief in spirit world thrives so do the controllers of spirits and 'Bhutas'.

Between the Newars and other ethnic groups in the Valley the only difference concerning the influence of ghosts and spirits is that while in the former's case these underworld beings are a part of their social organisation finding a place in their ceremonies, in the latter case it is not.

The belief in spirits and ghosts have led to the widely prevalent practice of using amulets and charms, which in the case of infants and children become indispensable. Application of collyrium ~~in~~^{on} the eyes and ~~on~~ the forehead is one of the popular ways to ward off the influence of evil spirits.

The Newars have a strong belief in black art. People live in mortal fear of persons who are reported to be well versed in black magic. It is always the women who are considered to be adept in this art. 'Boxi' is the

usual term applied to designate a women practising the black magic. The male counterpart of 'Boxi' is 'Boxo', who is rather rare in the Valley. Cases of hysteria is generally attributed to the activity of a 'Boxi'.

'Kali' is the chief deity which is believed to preside over the black art. In Kathmandu the 'Kali' at Mhaippee is notorious for such function. It is the belief that a woman who initiates herself into the life of a 'Boxi' has to offer as a sacrifice either her husband or the first son. Women accused of being a 'Boxi' are reported to be generally found with her eldest son or her husband being dead. In most of the cases, it is the husband of a 'Boxi' who is the object of sacrifice.

When a 'Boxi' possesses a man, she is believed to enter his person and eat all the food which he has eaten. The 'Boxi' can speak through the person and enumerate her grievances which led her to possess him. Thus through gradual and slow torture, she kills the person, unless some priest magician or 'Jhakari' is employed in time to counteract her influence. An instance of death caused by a 'boxi' was reported to the writer from Kathmandu town. It is said that the daughter-in-law of Khardar Ghbhaaju of

Asan tole died through the sorcery of a 'Jyapoo Boxi'.

The 'Boxi' works in two ways, either she directly possesses a person or makes him eat something which has the power to trouble or kill him. It is said that a young man educated upto M.Sc. was given a fried egg to eat by a 'Boxi' and after a year at the time of his death the victim vomited the same fried egg.

Beside taking the life of the person, a 'Boxi' can harm her victim in many other ways. More often than not she can cause pain over ^{the} person's body by sucking out blood while he is asleep. Nobody can see her when she is so engaged. It is believed that she bites the muscular portion of a person's body which leaves a black mark at the place where she had placed her teeth. It is also believed that when she is at work the victim falls into sound sleep. If, on noticing the first biting of the 'Boxi', some dirty substance is applied over the black mark, a similar dirty substance is sure to be found in the mouth of the 'Boxi' concerned.

A 'boxi' can be recognised in a number of ways. It is believed that a 'boxi' cannot look straight into another person's eyes. Women who are in the habit of too much

frequenting the temple of Kali on the tenth of the dark half of every month are suspected of being Boxis. The day on which the festival of Gathe Mangal is held is believed to be the chief day for their nefarious activities. It is also believed that at midnights Boxis go to the cremation ground to invoke their spirit agents and rehearse their black art. During that time they are believed to remain naked and dance with their hair hanging loose over their shoulders. They are, however, not known to be associated with each other.

The problem of controlling the Boxi rests with the Gubhaji priest who is supposed to be well versed in counteracting the activity of the Boxies. Another group of persons who can give antidote to a Boxi's act is the Jhakari. It represents rather a Tebetan type of black art which have nothing to do with the experts in tantric knowledge like the Gubhaji. The Gubhaji while controlling the Boxi employs many measures to punish her. Sometimes he causes the Boxi through the afflicted person to reveal her identity and state the reason for such evil acts. As a mild course, he simply asks the Boxi to free the man and promise that she would never visit him. Many a time the Boxi does not reveal her identity. In some cases,

the Gubhaju magician priest takes stern measures such as branding the Boxi with a red hot iron. For this, he takes a red hot iron and burns some spot on the body of the afflicted person. That burn is supposed to be transferred to the body of the Boxi and people believe that actually the Boxi concerned would be found to have such burns. Sometimes chilly is burnt and it is believed that its smoke would suffocate the Boxi who would come running to the place. Sometimes the Gubhaji inflames his imagination by uttering incantations to cause blood vomiting from the mouth of the Boxi, which would result in actual blood vomiting by the Boxi at her place. The idea underlying the Gubhaju's action is that whatever he does to the victim who here is imagined to be ^{under the influence of} the Boxi, consequences are believed to be certainly felt by the Boxi herself.

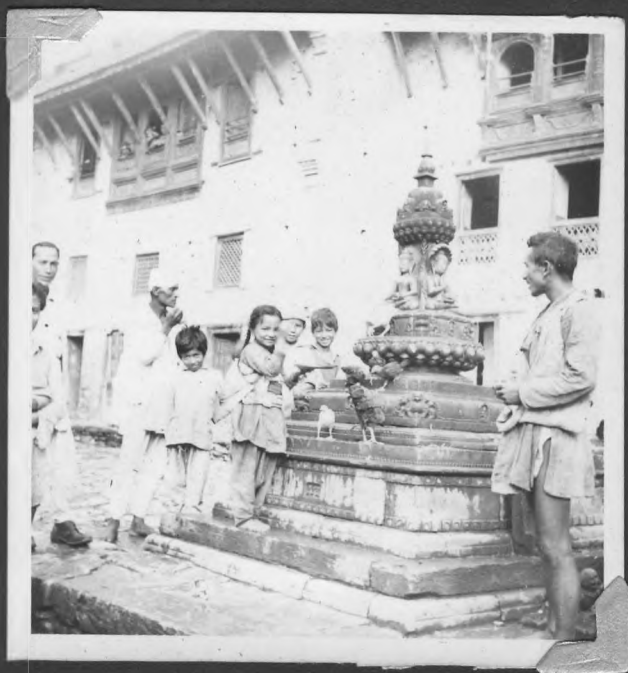
The act of 'Jhakari' is some what similar to that of the 'Gubhaju' priest in dealing with a 'Boxi'. But the difference lies in their own respective behaviours. 'The Jhakari' gets himself possessed with his spirit-agent and lives under the trance while trying to deal with the 'Boxi', whereas the efficacy of a 'Gubhaju's' power lies solely in his tantric formula without involving himself to come under trance.

It would be seen from the above discussion that the Newar's belief in ghosts, spirits and black-magic is still the predominant factor in the control of their life, and the lower pantheons of ^{the} Newar are only a degree above the ghost and spirits. The other Nepalese share in a large measure the belief in black art, but so far its practice in the Valley is concerned, it is largely confined to the Newars. Even among them economic status appears to be a factor. Its practice is generally attributed to the women of low economic status, especially the 'Jyapoo' section.

From the description of the different types of Newar deities, it is evident that religion as a spiritual experience is perhaps of the least importance. Almost all the deities are approached for some material benefits. Such benefits include cure of diseases, attainment of skill in arts and architecture, prosperity and wealth and other material well being. The desire to achieve ultimate salvation never figures so prominently in their religious life. The majority of gods and goddesses are worshipped rather for avoiding their displeasure than for invoking their blessings. Therefore we may say that they are rather propitiated than worshipped. Of these deities, the ~~one~~ most intimately concerned with the domestic and practical life

of the Newars include Ganesh, Bhairab, Kumari, Ajima or Kali, Dewali, Mahadeo, Narain, Machhendranath, Saraswati, Manjusri, and the various forms of Mais (mothers). Of these, except Mahadeo, Narain and Buddha, almost all are served by the non-Brahmin priests most of them belonging to the depressed castes. From the point of view of offerings made to them, we find that animal sacrifices, chiefly of buffalo and the use of liquor are essential items. Even such deities as Ganesh, and Saraswati are offered animal sacrifice, a practice which is an anathema to the Hindus in India. Each clan, each caste, each locality and each town has its own deity and finally they are all overlorded either by Mahadeo or Swayambhu. Thus the Newar pantheons are organised into a structure very much like their own social organisation. To sum up what the Newars do their divinities do; what the Newars think their divinities think; and what the Newars need, their divinities need. Besides, we often find duplication of gods for the same function. As for example for wealth, Naga, Laximi, Basundhara and Bhimsen are worshipped. This can only be attributed to the assimilation of different ethnic groups with their respective religious cults into their religious systems.

The Newar pantheons also shows conflict resulting however in mutual compromise, toleration, co-existence and peace. The three equations made between Shiva and Buddha, Buddha and Narain and Narain and Shiva are a reflection of the Newars' own attitude towards such co-operation and mutual toleration. This attitude permeates throughout their entire social organisation.



84. The temple of Swayambhu. 85. The temple of Kathe-Buddha in Kathmandu. 86. A Chaitya commonly located in a tole.



87. The Kal Bhairava. 88. The White Bhairava (Hathu Deya)
89. Pachali Bhairava. 90. Akash Bhairava in human form.



91. The temple of goddess Talleja in Kathmandu. 92. The temple of Nyata Pau (five storeyed) in Bhatgaon consecrated to Mahadeo. 93. The Krishna Mandir in Patan. 94. The temple of Bisen Devi in the Panga village.



95. Goddess Bhadrakali. 96. Goddess Kumari in human form: She is worshipped in every Bahal. 97. Goddess Kumari in whose honour the Kumari Jatra is held.



98. The idols of Dewali or Digu Deya. 99. A feast at the Dewali worship. 100. The ritual of goat sacrifice to the Dewali.



101. An idol of Ganesh which dominates the Newar worship. 102. God Ganesh in human form at the time of Kumari Jatra. 103. God Bhimsen in a locality of Bhatgaon.



104. Vyata-... suffer from menstrual irregularity
 ...ambar... pillar. 105. Bhukha-deya, the pig god
 ...ch-qu... -nya-deya, the godling for the cure of
 ...ache.

CHAPTER VII

Social Organisation (Contd)

FESTIVALS AND FEASTS

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The festivals of the Newars are as many as there are gods and goddesses which enter into their beliefs and practices. These festivals not only serve as occasions for the numerous feasts indicative of Newar mirth and gaiety, but also provide the means for perpetuating the Newar ethos on the different levels of family, lineage, locality and nation. The solidarity of Newars as a group becomes quite effective through these festivals and feasts. When viewed from the point of view of motive, it is not the Newar piety which figures so much as their desire to live a happy and peaceful life. This idea runs through all the festivals. These festivals have in addition come to be more of a comic feature than the solemnity involved in the veneration of the divinities.

Many of the traditional features of these festivals have now been shorn off. Yet the adherence to the rigid norms stays on in the majority of cases.

While such festivals speak of the excessive mirth and gaiety of the Newar life, they also tell us of the sad plight which overtakes a Newar, especially of the lower economic strata. This fact is truly reflected in the Nepali adage: "Parbate Bigryo mouj-le, Newar Bigryo Bhoj-le". The central idea of this adage is that the Parbate (Gorkha) is ruined by his sex-appetite and the Newar by his food-appetite. Every festival demands a lavish consumption of an enormous quantity of 'Bajee' and 'Tho(n)'. A normal family, say of three to four members, is expected to set aside at least two to three mounds of paddy to provide it with the traditional feasts during the coming year. Add to this the money required for buying the buffalo-meat and the different kinds of pulses and vegetables which are also consumed equally in a large quantity. Poverty is no excuse for not observing these festivals; and, therefore, a Newar is driven to borrow money in order to keep the festivals and feasts

going. Many people from Panga reported to the writer that they ^{had} contracted huge debts in their attempts to keep these festivals ~~alive~~.^{going}

The festivals fall into two broad divisions: (i) those involving collective participation on the locality or settlement level, and (ii) those restricted to the members of a household or in some cases to an individual. The first type of festivals are generally, though not always, designated as 'Yatras' or 'Jatras' which becomes 'Ya' in the Newari language. Most of these festivals are further characterised by the propitiation of a deity, involving animal sacrifices and carrying it through the different parts of the settlement. In others, which are merely ceremonial and do not involve any concrete object of worship, people move in a procession visiting the different parts of the locality or the settlement.

The second type of festivals are more or less domestic festivals.

Among the chief festivals which are characteristic of the Newars are: the Bhairava or Bhairavi Jatras, the 'Gathe Mangal', the 'Gai Jatra', the 'Vanra Jatra', the 'Indra Jatra', the 'Kumari Jatra', the 'Machhendra Jatra', the 'Narain Jatra', the 'Ganesh Jatra', the 'Bhimsen Jatra' and the 'Krishna Jatra'.

The Bhairava and Bhairavi Jatras are variously known in the different places. Some times it is the Bhairava which forms the chief object of propitiation, while in other cases his consort Bhairavi assumes the prominent role. Of the many such Jatras, the first in order of occurrence is the Bisket Jatra in Bhatgaon, inaugurating the New Year's day of the Vikram era. This festival commences on the last day of Chaitra and lasts for two more days ^{during the dark-half of Baisakh}. This Jatra consists of two parts: The first part of it is the erection of the huge wooden pole called 'linga' on the first day and its pulling down on the first of Baisakh. The former is also known as 'Vishwa-Dwajotathanam', but among the illiterate masses the first term is more popular. The second part of the festival is that of drawing the chariots of Bhairava and Bhairavi through the different parts of the Bhaktapur town.

The 'linga' is made out of a huge Sal tree cut down for this purpose by the local Manandhars from the near by jungle and brought to the town. The selection of the tree involves a special ritual. The Manandhars set a goat free in the forest, and the tree against which the goat rubs its back is selected for the 'linga'. The goat is sacrificed to the tree before it is cut down, When the tree is brought to the town, the Jyappos hew it into a cylindrical pole, about thirty to forty feet in length. The spot where the pole is erected is called 'Lya-Sikhya' and is situated in front of the Bhairavi Indriani.

After the 'Linga' is erected, the two chariots of Bhairava and Bhairavi are brought to the 'Li-Sikhya' from where they are drawn in a procession on the first day of Baisakh, when the 'Linga' is pulled down. The procession comes to an end after going through the different parts of the town.

Besides being the celebration of the New Year's day of the Vikrami era, this festival is also a kind of propitiation principally designed for the protection of

the Bhaktapur town. It is, however,^{only} of only local importance and people from the other two towns in the Valley do not participate in large numbers. Distance also acts as one of the factors responsible for the thin attendance at this festival, since Bhaktapur is very far from Kathmandu.

The second great festival in honour of Bhairava and Bhairavi is observed not in the Valley of Kathmandu but in the town of Naokot towards the north. It is called 'Devi Rath Yatra'. This year (1959) it took place on the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra. Though the writer did not attend this festival, his enquiries confirmed that the description given by Dr.Oaldfield¹ is true even to this day. According to Dr.Oaldfield the idol of Bhairavi Devi is brought from her temple at Naokot to Devi ghat where a temple representing her in an aboriginal form stands. Animal sacrifices are profusely offered to her for five days. At this festival the Vanras officiate as priests. It is by their orders that the animals are killed by the Kasai. Two Jyapoo Newars who respectively personate the Bhairavi and the Bhairava drink the blood of the sacrificed animal.

1. Dr. Oaldfield, H.A. - Sketches from Nepal, Vol. II,
P.P. 295-298

^{When}
~~After~~ the festival is over the idol of the goddess is brought back to her temple at Naakot. The wrath of this goddess is so much dreaded by the local people that not only do the Newars who are ritually connected with her come to participate in this festival but also the other inhabitants, irrespective of their respective cultural configurations. As already described elsewhere this festival is designed to quench the blood thirst of the goddess Bhairavi who would otherwise, it is believed, let loose the dreaded awl in the form of an epidemic.

The third popular festival held in honour of Bhairava and his consort Bhairavi is in the town of Kathmandu. Dr. Oaldfield describes it as Neta-devi Rath Jatra.² But now a days the Jatra is called either Neta-Ajima Jatra or Nardevi Jatra. 'Neta' is the name of the locality and the goddess in whose honour the festival is held takes her name after it. The term Neta-Ajima means the grand mother of Neta locality. She is given the appellation of Nardevi, because in the old days she used to be offered human sacrifice. People still say that she needs human flesh as an offering to her. Since human

2. Ibid. pp. 295.

sacrifice is stopped, the priest is said to keep dried human flesh, a little of which is used in every festival.

The festival takes place annually on the fourteenth of the dark half of Chaitra and also at the end of every twelve years. It lasts for four days. Many of the aboriginal aspects of this festival as described by Dr. Oaldfield have disappeared now. Just as in the festival of 'Neta-Devi' in Naokot, so in this festival, the drinking of the animal's blood by the 'Dhamis' (not Dharmis as stated by Oaldfield) is one of the important features. These 'Dhamis' appear in masks representing the twelve different goddesses chief among whom are: the Ajima, the Kumari, the Bhairava, the Varahi, and the Ganesh. On ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{first} night of the first day of the festival, these mask wearers dance in front of the Neta Ajima temple. First they dance individually and then in groups. The first group-dance is called 'Nima-Macha' in which the Ajima and the Kumari participate. It is followed by the 'Pemha Macha' dance in which the Bhairava and the Varahi also participate.

After the dances, the ritual of offering the animal sacrifice begins. The chief 'Dhamis' who are

offered such animal sacrifice are the Ajima, the Kumari, the Varahi and the Bhairava. It is strange to note here that Ganesh who is offered animal sacrifice during the Newar domestic ceremonies is excluded at this time. The animal to be sacrificed is a buffalo. A small wound is inflicted on the buffalo's neck to draw out a stream of blood. The four 'Dhamis' drink the blood one by one and are believed to be possessed with the spirits of their respective gods. Later these Dhamis vomit out the blood which is collected and ^{it is} regarded as the 'prasad' of the gods.

The 'Paha(n) Chare' is noted for a number of other Bhairava or Bhairavi festivals confined to the different localities in the Kathmandu town. No less important than the earlier one is the joint festival of Swa-Bhagwati and Bhadra Kali. At midnight 'Swa Bhagwati' is drawn in a procession at the temple of Bhadrakali. She is made to circumambulate the latter's temple after which, the representatives on the two sides exchange burning torches. Besides the Jyapoos and Gathu castes, the Manandhar has also to participate ceremonially by providing their caste-music.

'Paha(n) Chare' is also the day when sacrifices are made to goddess Kankeshwari and Bhadra Kali on behalf of each Newar family which also holds a feast. This festival, however, does not attract the attention of the Newars of other regions where they have their own respective festivals to observe in honour of their own local Bhagwatis or Bhairavas.

Another Jatra of importance and popularity in the town of Kathmandu in honour of Bhairava is that of Pachali Bhairava. It is observed during the fourth and the sixth of the bright-half of Ashwin. This deity is mostly connected with the Manandhar and Jyapoo castes which have certain hereditary functions in this respect. But the other Newar castes, barring the Achaju and the Joshi, do not have any particular function, though they worship Pachhali Bhairava and offer animal sacrifices on the occasion.

The festival begins with the erection of a huge 'Linga' in front of the temple on the fourth of the bright half of Aswin. But the actual festival starts from the fifth. It starts with the ritual of 'Ka(n)-Joshi-Bwake-gu'.

In this ritual, a big-copper pot called 'Kasi', large enough to accommodate four persons, is worshipped by an Achaju priest. In the former days there was a strange custom of selecting a Joshi who was one eyed. The Joshi was carried in a copper vessel to a place known as 'Bhutisa' near the Gorakhnath temple in the heart of the city. 'Bhutisa' means the dwelling place of ghosts and spirits and is connected with the belief that the place is still haunted by these super-natural beings. From Bhutisa, the one eyed Joshi was carried to the temple of Pachali Bhairava at the southern end of ^{the} Kathmandu town.

The old practise of carrying the Joshi in the copper vessel has been replaced by a modified one. Now a days only the copper-pot is worshipped during which streams of water are kept flowing over it from the four clay vessels called 'Ampah'. Two persons of Bhamba class bearing teeka marks on their foreheads lift up the copper vessel and carry it hurriedly to the 'Bhutisa'. Soon after reaching the place, they hurry back through the fixed route to the temple of Pachali Bhairava. Meanwhile the figure of Pachali Bhairava, brought after having been painted by a chitrakar, is kept in waiting at a certain place and it

is not taken into the temple until the 'Ka-Joshi-Bwake-gu' procession arrives. Here a brief description relating to the painting of the figure of Pachali Bhairava and the method of bringing it to the temple is necessary.

A couple of days before the Jatra is due to start, a person of Chitrakar caste is entrusted with the painting of the figure of Bhairava. The figure is painted on the surface of a huge earthen jar as is the usual way of representing the Bhairava. On the first day of the festival, the figure is brought to the temple under the pretext of having stolen it. As mentioned earlier, it is kept outside the temple awaiting the arrival of the 'Ka(n)-Joshi-Bwake-gu' procession. The procession arrives at the temple lead by the Kasai musicians. The members of the procession shout: "Haila". It means 'Shall we bring?'. It is responded by the other party by saying 'bring him'. Then the 'Kasi' is over turned on the 'Betel', the resting place of Bhairava. This is followed by the installation of the figure of Bhairava inside the temple. On the first day of the Jatra, a goat is sacrificed at the 'Betel' but not to the Pachali Bhairava. It is the belief that Pachali Bhairava does not

accept animal sacrifice, eggs and intoxicating drinks, which are so important for the other Bhairavas and Bhagwatis in the Valley. The usual explanation given for the sacrifice of the goat at the Betal is that it is not the Pachali Bhairava but his 'Gana' (assistant to Bhairava) who eats up the goat. Thus the 'Betal' is interpreted both as the resting place of the Bhairava and as well as 'Gana'.

After killing, the goat is ^{caused to be} consumed to the sacred fire (Hawan kund).

During the day a big fair is held in which the participants for the most part are the Jyapoos and the Manandhars.

The second part of the festival comprises of the carrying of the ^{mask of} Pachali Bhairava in a procession. For this purpose two persons impersonate ^{as} the consorts of Pachali Bhairava. One is called 'Patra-Khola' or 'Ajima' and the other 'Nai-Ajima'. The 'Patra Khola' Ajima takes her name after a type of pot she holds in her hand, called 'Patra-Khola'. None other than the 'Bhincha (sister's son

of the 'Thakali' of the 'Pachali Bhairava Guthi' can assume such^a role. The person becoming 'Patra-Khola' is required to undergo complete fast for the day. If there is a breach in such observance the spirit of the 'Ajima' is not believed to enter into him.

When the person personating 'Ajima' takes 'Patra-Khola' in his hand, he is possessed with the spirit of the 'Ajima', and no longer is he believed to be a human being.

The junior consort of the Pachali Bhairava, 'Nai-Ajima' is represented by a person of the Kasai caste. That is why the person is called 'Nai Ajima', the term 'Nai' means a Kasai. When everything is ready, the figure of Bhairava is lifted by the men of the Jyapoo caste, while the 'Ajima and Nai Ajima' flank the Bhairava on the two sides. Now the procession starts. It is here that some of the non-Newars have some ritual function. The procession is headed by an infantry of the royal priest who belongs to the Gorkha group. The king is also represented by his sword. The procession makes its way towards the Hanuman Dhoka, the ancient palace of the Newar Kings. All along

the route there are numerous figures of 'Bhairava' kept on view by those families who are the members of the 'Pachali Bhairava Guthi'. When the procession arrives at these places, the ritual of giving 'Samai' takes place as stated elsewhere. On the way the procession halts at the 'Bhuti-sa' for the 'Hathu-Haye-gu' ritual, which consists in causing a stream of rice-beer to flow out from the mouths of the two prominent Bhairavas put up at the place. The flow of the rice-beer is managed by opening the valves in the tubes fitted into the Bhairavas' mouth. At this moment people run to have a little of the rice-beer which is believed to give divine protection to a person.

On reaching Hanuman Dhoka, worship is offered to the Pachali Bhairava on behalf of the state; the 'Patra-Kholā' is offered the sacrifice of a he-buffalo. The sacrifice of the he-buffalo leads very often to a quarrel between the Jyapoo and the Kasai for the share in the carcass, which symbolises a conflict between 'Ajima' and 'Mai Ajima'. Ultimately the Jyapoos get the carcass as well as its head. At the time of such a conflict the

'Patra-Khola's' companions utilize the occasion for taking revenge upon their enemies. If they happen to come across any such enemy, they can strike him and inflict injuries without being brought to book by the law.

Throughout the festival the Jyapoos and the Kasai indulge in great festivities, involving excessive consumption of liquor and rice-beer. The festival ends with the bringing of the figure of the Pachali Bhairava back to the house of the Jyapoo on whom falls the obligation to worship the deity till the next festival. Before conducting the figure inside the house of the Jyapoo, the usual ceremonies of 'Du-chnaye-gu' and the 'Lassa-Kussa' are held.

Such festivals as held in honour of the Bhairava and the Bhairavi are too numerous to be enumerated here. In all these cases the common features are the animal sacrifice and the carrying of the deity in a procession through the different parts of the settlement. While such festivals in the towns are mostly of a sectional character, in the rural areas, they display a greater unity and compactness of the Village community as a whole. A

typical example of this is provided by the Bhisen Devi Jatra in Panga. This deity is very popular among the lower caste Newars of Panga, Kirtipur and the adjoining region. The nature of its aboriginal character can be seen from the description already given elsewhere. It is also recognised in Kirtipur where the higher gods like Nava-Durga, Talleji and Chilanchi Buddha are to be found. But in popularity it is the only female counterpart of Bagh-Bhairava. Although the cult of Bagh-Bhairava dominates in Kirtipur, Bisen-Devi is compensated for by her being the presiding deity of Panga and its adjoining villages.

The festival of Bisen Devi takes place on the eighth of the bright-half of Marg. In fact it is composed of two different festivals in honour of the two different goddesses - Bisen Devi and Eal-Kumari. Four days in advance of the commencement of the Jatra, the 'Guthiars' (the chiefs of the different lineages) go to the temple to invite the goddesses for the festival. This includes worship and a cock sacrifice to each of the two deities. The sacrificed cocks are taken away by the Kāsle priest. Then a communal feast is held at the 'Guthi' of each of

the 'Dewali' groups. A day before the festival, the four 'Thakalis' of the village go to the temple of 'Bisen Devi' with a buffalo and the worshipping material supplied to them by the Kusle priest. They worship the goddess at night and sacrifice the buffaloe to her. The buffalo's neck is not severed but only cut open so as to let the blood gush out in a stream. Five or six Kasais attending to the sacrifice take each a palmful of blood in their hands and sprinkle it over the twelve stone deities inside the temple. This is known as the 'Nitya Puja'. These stones represent, apart from 'Bisen Devi', Ganesh, Bhairava, Bal Kumari etc. It is, however, strange that the Durga which is included among them is not offered such sacrifice .

After the animal has been sacrificed, it is skinned. Then the head of the buffalo is distributed among the local Jyapcos. So far as the carcass is concerned, the Kasais first receive a portion of the meat and the rest is divided equally among the four Guthiars. The Guthiars hold a feast for the heads of families under their respective 'Dewalis', which lasts for six days.

On the day of the buffalo-sacrifice, the idol of Bisen Devi is brought outside from the temple which stands in the centre of the village. There the goddess is kept in the central square for a night. Next morning all the inhabitants offer worship to her. She is then carried in a procession to the temple to the north-eastern boundry of the village. Similarly the goddess Bal Kumari is also taken to the southern extremity of the village where she has a border temple. Each of the idols of the two goddesses brought from the village temple is kept side by side with the heaps of stones representing them in their aboriginal forms. A curious explanation is offered, as regards the two forms of the deity ^{in beng} ~~as~~ represented by the metal idols kept in the village temples and the others in stones. According to the inhabitants of Panga, the goddess Bisen Devi and Bal Kumari worshipped in the village temple are the respective sisters of the Bisen Devi and Bal Kumari at the border temples. Thus the visits of these goddesses to the border temples is explained as the meeting of two sisters. Side by side they also hold that the temples at the border of the village are the respective 'Maitees' (Natal home from the point of view of a married woman) of these goddesses.

The Achaju priests worship the goddesses and on this occasion rams are sacrificed by the Kusle. It is the first time that a person of higher caste like the Achaju replaces the Kusle. When the worship is over a feast takes place in the precincts of both the temples. The important point to note about these feasts is that the 'Guthiar' (head of the 'Dewali Guthi') of the Kasai caste is given the honour of occupying the first place, a privilege which in a communal feast goes to the 'Thakali' of one's own clan. After the feast is over, both Bisen Devi and Bal Kumari are carried to the 'Pattee' at the northern entrance of the village. At this juncture the 'Sabhapati' (president) of the Village Welfare Committee of Panga has to worship them on behalf of the community as a whole before they are carried into the village. A ram is sacrificed at this time. Formally this function belonged to the regional administrative head called 'Dware'.

The 'Dware' was annually appointed by the State and in every important social and religious event in the region under his jurisdiction it was part of his duty to represent the State.

The welcome worship by the 'Sabhapati'-pati' having been over, the two goddesses are taken through the different parts of the settlement where each time worship and sacrifices are offered to them. Thus the Jatra ends with the goddesses being finally restored to their respective shrines at the central square of the village.

Next day a similar Jatra is held in Kirtipur in honour of Bisen Devi, but there she is not accompanied by Bal Kumari, but by Ganesh. It is not quite clear whether Bisen Devi is regarded as the consort of Bag Bhairava. Repeated enquiries were made about the relationship between these two deities but the writer could not come across any legends current in the region. The Panga people appear to be just ignorant about it.

Of the ^{other} most typical festivals connected with the Newars, one is the 'Gai Gatra' which is not met with any other community. This is known as 'Sa-ya-Wane-gu' in Newari. 'Sa' means cow; 'ya' means yatra and 'Wane-gu' means 'to go'. It takes place on the first of the dark

half of Bhadrapad. The usual belief connected with it is that from the Sithi Nakha day (the 10th of the bright half of Jaistha), the day on which the worship of 'Dewali' comes to an end, the gates of the kingdom of 'Yama' are closed and, therefore, those relatives who die after that date are unable to get admission to heaven. The festival of cow is, therefore, designed to help the dead souls to enter the Yama's kingdom or heaven. As the belief runs, it is said that on the cow-festival day, the cow is able to thrust open one of the doors ^{of Yama's abode} with its horns, while the other door is believed to be opened on the 'Vanra Jatra' (on the 13th of the dark half of Bhadra).

On the day of this festival each of the families in which a death had occurred since the last Sithi Nakha day sends out two boys in the guise of a pair of cows. Usually small children are picked up for such purpose. They wear paper caps depicted with cow's horns and go round the streets accompanied with the different types of music provided by the different Newar castes.

The persons who impersonate the cows are first worshipped in the house itself. Then they go to join other

cow mask-wearers on the way. Such cow-mask wearers are called 'Sa-ya-Wa-pi'. The wearers of cow masks walk under the shade of a colourful umbrella specially made for the occasion. There are also other types of mask wearers who are intended to provide fun. Each group of the cow mask wearers is followed by its respective relatives each of whom wears a white piece of cloth round his neck. As the procession moves forward through the prescribed route it begins to swell by the addition of more and more cow mask wearers on the way.

The procession halts on the way to receive fruits on behalf of those families in whose house somebody has died. The fruits to be offered invariably includes, among others, sugar cane pieces and oranges,

After having returned from the round of the town, the cow masks are taken off and hung at the main temples of the respective localities.

The festival of cow is not observed by the Buddhamargi castes in the same way as the Hindu Newars do.

To cite an example from the town of Kathmandu, the procession of cow mask-wearers is chiefly connected with the 'Deo-Bhaju' Brahmin, the Shrestha, the Chhipah, the Nau, the Kow, the Kasai, the Kusle and the Duniya, who are the worshippers of Shiva. It, therefore, may be said to be a special feature of the Hindu Newars only. The Buddhist Newar groups of Vanra, Udas and Manandhars have no such tradition of cow-procession. Their part of the festival consists in merely going round the city playing on their respective caste music.

The festival of cow is marked by some regional variation. As compared with its celebration in the towns, it is more traditionally observed by the people of the rural area. Unlike^{as} in Kathmandu town, at Panga this festival is organised on a community basis involving joint participation by the whole village, and a single procession is taken out. All the cow mask-wearers meet at a certain place from where the procession starts. Each of the families which sends out the cow mask-wearers makes an additional arrangement for a few more types of mask wearers. The cow mask wearers of each of the family is followed by a mask wearer who holds the tails of the former, and he in turn is followed by another cow mask wearer who carries a plough*.

* It is quite strange to find the plough forming a ritual, when its use is a taboo among the Newars.

When all these groups have assembled at the place, the procession is arranged in a definite order of precedence. The cow-mask wearers and their party are followed by a fish mask wearer who drags by his sides two brooms which hang by his waist. Next to him comes a person wearing any kind of mask, who drags about a copper utensil at one side and a small cot at the other. He is followed by another mask wearer, dragging along with him a wooden stand called 'Dui-Khutte'*. He is followed by a mask wearer who drags along with him five old and worn clay-vessels which are normally used for storing oil. The mask of this person is made of mushrooms. Then comes in order the 'Dhaka-Ghisa' to take his place. He wears any kind of mask, and drags along with him a big basket used for keeping hens. Then the next place is occupied by a mask-wearer who does not belong to Panga, but to the nearby town of Kirtipur and who is required by the custom to pay eight annas and a pice for such representation in the procession. He is in turn followed by the mask wearers, each of whom girdles his waist with nine saris, nine blouses, and nine handkerchiefs. Then each group of the traditional musicians, hailing respectively from the Jyapoo, Kasai and Kusle castes arranges themselves in order. With such paraphernalia, the procession starts with loud music which lends colour to the entire function.

* It is a wooden stand on which the Dheki (rice-pounder) rests.

The procession first goes to the village temple of Ganesh; from there it arrives at the 'Lachhi-tole' to pay respect to Budha and Narain; thereafter it goes through the different streets and lanes. After having completed the round of the Panga^{village,} it proceeds to the adjoining villages of Naigam and Chhagam both of which form part of the Panga community. On its return to Panga, the procession terminates at the village tank. The people then indulge in merriments and dance in which all mask wearers participate. Afterwards all return to their homes. At home, the cow-mask wearers are received by their respective families, after being worshipped at the entrance of the house. Then in each individual house the usual feast is held.

In the evening the people again assemble at the central square to witness the 'Lakhe' dance. The Kusle priest sacrifices a hen to Ganesh by wringing its neck and then he jumps into the tank. The sacrificed hen is taken away by him. Afterwards about two or three hundred bundles of maize-corns are thrown into the tank which are immediately picked up by persons who would be swimming for that purpose. It is followed by the distribution of a piece of buffalo skin to each group of the musicians. In addition, a leg of buffalo is given to the heads of each of the eight groups

of musicians. No sooner they receive the pieces of skin and legs than they jump into the tank. The 'Lakhe' dancer is also given a buffalo's head; but he does not leap into the tank. Instead he circumambulates it. In the former days the buffalo's head used to be a bone of contention between the two 'Lakhe' dancers, since each wanted to claim the right side of the head. In the year ~~(1957)~~ to which the above description alludes there was only one 'Lakhe' dancer; and therefore, there was no occasion for a conflict this time.

These two accounts drawn from the Kathmandu town and the Panga village are fairly representative of the cow-festival observed in the Valley of Kathmandu. The urban areas, however, show a tendency towards individualism, while in rural areas it is still a collective affair.

Even outside the Valley, the cow-festival is popular among the Newars. But it varies somewhat in detail. For example, in Chherikot, the festival is marked by taking out in procession the effigies of dead relatives while in Dhankutta the cow mask wearers are replaced with the cow.

The Newars, wherever they are found in the Valley, have stuck to their traditional custom of seeking salvation for the souls of their recently dead relatives of which the cow-festival is an example.

The festival of cow has little influence upon the Non-Newars who do not evince any interest^{in it} except as onlookers, whereas in the festivals observed in honour of Bhairava and Bhairavis or Genesh even the non-Newars offer worship to them.

The festival of cow, thus it is seen, is not designed for the material gains as in the case of Bhairava and Bhairavi Jatras. Rather, it is aimed at fulfilling one's obligation towards the dead relatives. The death of a kin does not mean that the link with him has been broken. A permanent relationship is sought to be maintained with the souls of the dead who after entering the abode of Yama join the other ancestors who are regarded by the Newars as the protectors of the clan and family. In the former days, as Dr. Oaldfield records, the cow festival was associated with the festival of tiger dancers, which had by his time become a repetition of the 'Gai Jatra'.³

3. Ibid, pp. 38.

Another important festival popular among the Newars is the Vanra Jatra. It is observed, it is said, to commemorate the day when prince Siddharth took to ascetic life. It is also the day, it is explained, for honouring the Vanra priests in memory of their former monastic life. This festival is held twice a year on the eighth of the bright half of Sravan and on the thirteenth of the dark half of Bhadra. Besides, it can take place at any time whenever a wealthy person wishes to hold it. The day's celebration starts from the early morning and the Buddhist Newars go round to the temples of Swayambhu and Machhendranath. The Kathmandu town becomes far busier on this day than any other town in the Valley, because, the main temple of Swayambhu is situated in it. People from all corners of the Valley flock to pay their homage at the temples of the Buddhist divinities. Next follows the main event i.e. the offering of alms to the Vanras and feasting them also. This takes place in two ways. First the Vanras go from shop to shop, or door to door with a big bag and beg for alms. The Buddhist sections of the Newars offer them some quantity of a mixture of rice and paddy in a copper bowl which the Vanra empties into his bag. Then he places on the forehead of the alm-giver the sacred book which he carried with a view to giving him (the alm-giver) the protection of the Buddha.

Such individual offering of the alms is supplemented by a collective offering. In every important locality, a special arrangement is made to feed the Vanras. There, the Vanras are worshipped and given five times a little quantity of the mixture of rice and paddy and fed simultaneously. In such functions women play a prominent role. House-tops and windows are packed with devotees witnessing this sacred act of honouring the Buddhist priests. The feasting ceremony continues till night and comes to an end after the arrival of the 'Phu-Bhare'. He is also a Vanra priest who is so named owing to his special function of rounding off the Vanra Jatra. He announces his arrival by the sacred bell he carries with him. After his visit, no Vanra is entitled to alms.

The pomp ~~of~~ attending this festival in the former days is now no more in vogue. Although it is a popular Newar festival, it is entirely an affair of the Buddhist Newars. It is mainly the people of Udas caste who play the role as householders in relation to the Vanras on this occasion. Such function of honouring the Vanras as monks by the Udas points out the latter being the householder class, and there is no section among the Vanras themselves

or among the other Buddhist castes, which is so much ritually important in relation to the Vanra Jatra.

The Vanras look upon this occasion more with economic value. That is why some of them do not hesitate to visit the non-Buddhist establishments and houses, including those of the Marwadis and the other Indian merchants with a view to receiving some money. If they are offered less than what they had anticipated, they would not hesitate to insist upon a little more on the ground what they had received in the earlier times.

The Shivamargi Newars hardly participate in this festival. In the villages, however, where the Jyapoos predominate, it is observed with as much great veneration as the other Jatras. The Vanra Jatra is not so popular outside the Valley since the majority of the Newars living outside the Valley are Shivamargis.

Of all the festivals of the Newars, two are of national importance, viz., the Indra Jatra and the Machhendra Jatra. The Jatra starts on the twelfth of the bright half

of Bhadrapad and lasts for a period of eight days. This festival which is held in honour of Indra, the Vedic god, is typical to the Newars and is, perhaps, nowhere to be found in India. Though it is observed in all the towns - Bhatgaon, Patan and Kathmandu - the grandest and the most popular of all is the one held in the last named town. In Bhatgaon and Patan, it assumes a local character whereas in Kathmandu town it is a national festival involving the participation of the Newars from all corners of the Valley.

There are a number of legends woven round this festival. It is said that Indra was once caught by the inhabitants of the Valley, as he was stealing Ashoka flowers, as a punishment for which he was buried alive at the Maru-Hitti. Dagini, the mother of Indra came in search of her son, and requested the king of Kathmandu to release him. When the king recognised Lord Indra, he felt ashamed and Indra was given a great royal reception. He was carried in a procession round the city. The legends also say that when Indra was leaving the Valley, the local inhabitants importuned to him to take the souls of their dead relatives to heaven. True to such legends, the present celebration

of Indra Jatra keeps alive to this day the memory of Indra's honour in the Valley.

Indra Jatra is not one single Jatra, but appears to consist of two different festivals - one in honour of Indra and the other, ^{in honour of} Bhairava and Kumari which are inter-related to the former.

Indra Jatra is inaugurated with the erection of a huge 'Linga' in the foreground of Hanuman Dhoka, the palace of the former Newar Kings. It may be recalled that in Bhatgaon, the creation of such a 'Linga' is connected with the festival of Bhairava. Earlier we have also seen the erection of a similar 'Linga' in connection with the festival of Pachali Bhairava. The 'Linga' is, therefore, typically a symbol connected with Bhairava and Bhairavi. But how it came to be associated with the festival of Indra, ~~it~~ is hard to explain. Though the erection of the 'Linga' is known as 'Indra Dhvajotthanam', its association with the festival of Bhairava as the main part of the function is quite strange. As in Bhatgaon, so also in Kathmandu, the erection of the 'Linga' is the function of the Manandhar caste. Every year on the preceding

festival day, the Manandhars of Kathmandu go to the forest near Bhatgaon to select a Sal-tree (*Shorea robusta*) for the next year's festival. The tree is chosen in the same manner as described in connection with the 'Bisket Jatra'. The tree is, however, cut down only ^a~~one~~ month before the festival, and before it is felled a goat is sacrificed to it. The tree is first brought to the northern extremity of the Kathmandu town on the Kaya-Ashtami day (on the eighth of the bright half of Bhadra), from where it is removed to Hanuman Dhoka where it is to be erected. The 'Linga' is adorned with a bunch of flowers, a flag and a 'Bhokate'^(Shaddok)%. The arrival of the priests' detachment and the King's sword representing the Sovereign are awaited. After having completed all the preliminaries, when the auspicious hour is struck, the royal priests' troop presents the guard of honour while the 'Devil-dancers display the war dance. Amidst the ecstasy aroused by the solemnity of the hour, the Manandhars start erecting 'Linga'. The mast of the huge pole begins to be slowly lifted up towards the sky while ~~the~~ tens of thousands of people watch it with utmost reverence. When the 'Linga' is finally planted, a small cage with an idol of Indra in it symbolising his imprisonment is placed at the base of the Linga.

With the erection of the Linga starts revelry and ^{the} display of the Bhairavis figures. Throughout the city at every important place such figures are displayed. All the idols of Bhairava and Bhairavis or Bhagwatis are taken out of their respective temples and put on view under temporary roofs. In front of the Bhairava's figure at every square of the locality, the figure of Indra with outstretched arms are displayed on a high 'machan'. The idol of Indra is usually wound with threads signifying him to be in chains. These idols of Indra, says Dr. Caldwell, "are invoked as especially sacred to the memory of the deceased ancestors".⁴ Besides, the numerous Bhairavas put up for display and worship, the famous white Bhairava at the Hanuman Dhoka is also uncovered to admit a full view of it on this occasion. It is only during the Indra Jatra that it is kept open to the public. During the rest of the year it is kept concealed with a wooden net-like frame. This Bhairava is worshipped by the Gubhajas of Mu-Banal, who enjoys a hereditary right in this matter.

4. Ibid, p. 314.

Throughout the evening, several kinds of dances, all connected with some gods or goddesses are performed by the different castes whose hereditary function it is. While the dances and festivities go on, there is a ceremony called, "Upako-Hu-Wane-gu" to be held in the town of Kathmandu. This is held in honour of the dead relatives of one's own family. Each family sends out a person to go around the city offering earthen lamps on the streets. Such people form a big procession and each of them places on the street as he walks, a small earthen pot containing a burning wick. The route is illuminated by the mustard oil-lamps hung by the eaves of the houses. The route through which the procession marches on contain numerous figures of Bhairava put up for display. Each person in the procession, while placing the earthen lamp on the ground, worships these Bhairavas with the offering of rice-grains and coins.

Such placing of earthen lamps on the ground is practised only by those persons who are commemorating the death of an adult. Persons who come in connection with the death of infants, simply carry a lighted cotton wick long enough to last till the end.

On the next day (i.e. the thirteenth of the bright half of Bhadrapad) there is no function except the dances performed on the streets for which it is important. Many dancing parties come to Kathmandu town for display. For example, the 'Devi' dancers are a speciality of the Bhatgaon Jyapoos and cannot be undertaken by any other caste, the 'Mahakali' dance is from the town of Patan, the 'Lakhe' and 'Sava-Bhaku' dances are from the Kathmandu town. These dances are exhibited every day and the dancers are believed to be possessed with the spirits of the gods which they are supposed to personate.

The 'Sava-Bhaku' dancers represent themselves as the 'Ganas' of Sava Deya' (Akash Bhairava) whom they accompany. These assistants are two and carry no arms. The person personating Akash Bhairava puts on a mask and carries a 'Khadga' (sword) in his right hand. They move on the streets to the accompaniment of music. The 'Sava-Bhakus' walk ahead of the Akash Bhairava dancer. The 'Sava Bhakus' are easily enraged by black things or a woman's garment hanging down by the street side. Therefore, people take the utmost care to the 'Sava Bhakus' to come across such things. Even an umbrella is enough to upset them. The

moment such things catch their eyes, the 'Sava-Bhaku' attack the person. If injury is inflicted by them no legal action can be instituted. If a woman's garment hanging by the road-side is caught sight of the 'Sava Bhaku' will climb up the wall of the house to punish the inmates. Only when a goat or a cock or hen is offered to them, do they let go the person concerned. When such animals are offered, their necks are wrung and the blood is drunk by them. If they find any animal on the way such as a goat or a hen or a duck they kill it and drink its blood.

The 'Sava-Bhaku' dance has now been much shorn of its former aspects. In earlier times during the eight days of Indra Jatra the strange spectacle of a fight between 'Sava-Bhaku' and a buffalo used to be the main attraction. Every day a he-buffalo was provided for the fight. The court-yard of the former Newar Raja served as the arena for this purpose. The he-buffalo was intoxicated with liquor and then led into the arena along with the 'Sava-Bhaku'. While one of the 'Sava-Bhakus' goaded the animal into anger, the others stood ready with a 'khukuri' to strike when it charged against them. The buffalo when wounded would continue to attack with renewed fury.

Normally the fight would end in killing the animal, the 'Sava-Bhaku' drinking its blood. The blood-drunken 'Sava-Bhaku' were regarded as possessed with the spirit of Akash Bhairava.

Many a time one of the 'Sava-Bhaku' fell a victim to the buffalo. Even recently it was reported to have so happened. Government, therefore, forbade this custom. But it is reported that attempts are made to revive it.

Another side attraction of the Indra Jatra is the 'Lakhe' dance. We have already stated earlier that the 'Lakhe', a Rakshasa, is the family deity of the Rankit-Kar Newars. It is the principal 'Lakhe' whose propitiation and the dance-display comes within their exclusive hereditary right. It should not, therefore, be confused with the numerous other 'Lakhe', called 'Gula Lakhe' put up during the month of 'Gula' by many of the lower castes, chiefly by the Jyapoo caste. It is said that the 'Gula Lakhes' are not expected to visit the dominion of the main 'Lakhe'. Neither should the music accompanying the 'Gula Lakhe' be heard within the territorial limits of the main 'Lakhe'.

This taboo is rooted in the firm belief that if the 'Gula Lakhe' contravenes this rule he is sure to meet with his death. Similarly the main 'Lakhe' should not see the 'Dagi' or 'Dagini'.

On the day of Kumari Jatra, a procession of women is taken out in honour of Dagi. It is mostly confined to the Udas caste. The procession is conducted through the routes fixed for the Kumari Jatra. The person wearing ~~such~~ a mask is believed to be fully under the influence of Dagi's spirit. In the procession he (as Dagi, she) behaves as if he were uncontrollable and, therefore, held by two persons. The procession is headed by a person who holds the 'Dhunjya-Manjya'. It terminates at the Ganesh temple of Kashta-Mandap. On reaching there the Dagi runs away to his house which is quite near. But the women participating in the Dagi procession wait there till another practice called 'Bahu-Mata' takes place, in which the Manandhars participate. This ritual consists in taking out in a procession a long rectangular structure of bamboo sticks, about fifteen to twenty feet in length with a number of lighted earthen lamps on it. The procession wends through the traditional route fixed for the festival of cow and is finally brought

to an end at the place where the women would be waiting for it just after the Dagi procession. Each woman generally represents a household where a death has occurred during the year. All of them thereafter proceed towards the 'Yanki Daha', a tank situated to the western extremity of the Kathmandu town. There they take their bath and return home. Both the rituals of 'Dagi' and 'Bahumata' are thus connected with the belief that on these particular occasions Indra accompanies them to 'Yanki Daha'. It is also the general belief that these symbolise the appeal by the inhabitants of Kathmandu to Indra to take the souls of their deceased relatives, to heaven when he was leaving the Valley through its western exit. The Indra Jatra comes to an end with the pulling down of the 'Linga' on the eighth day.

The more traditional town of Bhatgaon has its own additional features of Indra Jatra celebration. Some of the traditions observed there during the Indra Jatra symbolise the conflict between Indra and the local inhabitants. During the last three days of the Indra Jatra (i.e. between the second and the third dark half of Bhadra), a mask wearer representing a demon and accompanied by two of his assistants

goes round the streets. He is called 'Mho-patra' and each of his two assistants, 'Dicha'. 'Mho-patra' goes to the places where the idols of Indra are put on display. He circumambulates the Indra's idol three times and hits it with a 'Khukri'. On the fifth of the dark half of the same month, a person personating the 'Pula Kisi' and wearing elephant's garb goes round the city. It is commonly believed that this 'Kisi' (Elephant) is the riding animal of Indra and has come to search for its master. Care is taken to see that the 'Mhopatra' does not meet the 'Pula-Kisi'. In the event of their facing each other, there ensues a fight between the two involving their respective supporters. 'Mho-Patra' is represented as the enemy of Indra and the 'Pula-Kisi' as a faithful servant. A similar conflict though much concealed, is revealed through a very nearly similar custom held in Kathmandu on the last day of Indra Jatra. On this day a wooden puppet is taken out from the 'Hanuman Dhoka'. The puppet is called 'Jhyalincha'. It is struck against the two 'Jhyalinchas' respectively belonging to two Indra's idols at Indra chouk and Maru tole. The festival of Indra Jatra thus suggests perhaps the memory of a conflict between the two tribes - the Aryans and the non-Aryans.

While the festival of Indra is going on, another important festival, Kumari Jatra, intervenes and now a days it has become the chief attraction of Indra Jatra. No body knows whether this festival is merely coincident with the Indra Jatra or it is the original Jatra of the primitive Newars, which came to be synchronised with the Indra Jatra.

This festival lasts for two days. It begins on the full moon of Bhadrapad, that is to say on the fourth day of the inauguration of Indra Jatra. Its origin is attributed to ^kKing Jaya Prakash Malla, a Newar King who ruled over the Kathmandu principality during 1740-50 A.D. As the legends assert, the inauguration of the Kumari Jatra was the result of disrespect shown by ^kKing Jai Prakash Malla to a Vanra girl who once declared herself to be possessed with the ^{god}spirit of Talleju. The king did not believe it and regarded her as an imposture. He had her and her family turned out of the city and their property confiscated. It is said that the same night the queen of Jai Prakash Malla became possessed with the spirit of the deity. It frightened the ^kking who apologised for his misconduct. He publicly announced the Vanra girl as a divinity and offered worship to her. In addition, he

instituted the annual festival in her honour. Since then, the office of Kumari is filled up by selection from among the Vanra girls.

There is another story current in the Valley, which provides a slightly different explanation to its origin. It states that king Jai Prakash Malla was in the habit of daily playing dice with the goddess Talleju who appeared to him in human form. One day the king was attracted by the superb beauty of the goddess. He seized the goddess forgetting her devine status. The goddess ran away and hid herself. She was so angry that she never appeared again in human form to play dice with the king. But she appeared before the king in his dream and revealed to him that soon the Gorkha prince would displace the Mallas from power. She further asked the erring king to institute a Jatra in her honour as an atonement for his sin.

The Jatra, however, may have been existing already in the Valley and Jai Prakash Malla might have perhaps only given a state patronage. For, the cult of mother is so much in vogue among the Newars, as would be seen from the nature of their divinities, ceremonies and

rituals, that it cannot be believed that the Kumari festival could have been introduced as recently as the 18th century.

The main feature of this festival consists in drawing the car of the Kumari through the different parts of the Kathmandu town. This festival is not observed in other towns in the Valley; but all the inhabitants come to participate in it. The King's association with this festival and his ritual connection with the goddess Kumari has given it a national character. On the other hand, it exclusively remains a Newar festival, with no other ceremonial connection with the non-Newar population, apart from the fact that the non-Newars also look upon the goddess Kumari as a form of Bhagwati and pay her their due reverence at the festival.

The drawing of the Rath (car) starts from Kumari chowk, a place named after the Kumari. Before the Kumari is seated on the Rath, there are some preliminary ceremonies which have to be performed.

The long wooden yoke of the car is worshipped in which a Vanra priest officiates, assisted by an Achaju and

a Karmacharya. The yoke contains a figure of Bhairava to which a duck and a ram are sacrificed. This sacrifice is necessary because Bhairava is regarded as the chief agent of physical power which causes the movement of the car. The need to worship Bhairava's figure on the yoke of the car is designed, in addition, for avoiding any untoward calamity during the car drawing ceremony. As the popular belief runs, if the Bhairava is not given sacrifices to satisfy his blood thirst, he is sure to take the life of some body by causing the wheels of the car to pass over him. But Bhairava is not only the mover of the car but also the body-guard of Kumari. In this duty he is co-assisted by Ganesh, each of whom is mounted in their own respective cars. Like their mistress goddess Kumari, they are also drawn from the Vanra families and hold their offices for a specific period. The Kumari, along with her ~~these~~ two body-guards - Ganesh and Bhairava - is the unique feature of the Newar's human worship.

In the procession, the car of the Ganesh comes first, followed by the car of ^{the} Bhairava and then finally by the car of the Kumari. A huge croud drawn from ^{the} four

corners of the Valley gathers at the Darbar-square in front of the residence of the Kumari. For this Jatra to take place, the presence of the royal Sovereign is necessary.

The preliminaries being over and the king having, meanwhile, arrived, the Kumari is conducted into the car along with Ganesh and Bhairava. The moment they are brought out of the residence, the huge crowd becomes eager to have a look at the Kumari and pay their sacred homage to her. She ^{sits} ~~sits~~ in her car and so Ganesh and Bhairava do. Gun shots are fired in her honour by the royal priest's detachment. The king salutes the goddess, [†] Then Rath Jatra starts. The majority of the persons drawing at the cars are from the Jyapoo caste. It is regarded greatly a sacred act to participate in such drawing of the car.

Although on normal occasions the non-Newar Hindus do not go to worship the Kumari as the Newars do, on this particular occasion they all shower flowers and coins over her, looking upon her as a form of Bhagwati or Durga.

The car is drawn on the first day through the southern part of the city and on the second day through

its northern part. Throughout the way, Kumari receives ample veneration and the offerings of flowers and coins. The same day the cars are drawn back to Kumari chowk and their wheels are made to rest into the same small ditches wherein they stood before. It takes quite a good deal of time to put the cars exactly into their former positions. When done, gun salute is presented to Kumari. Afterwards she retires to her residence. The car-drawing procession is resumed again on the third dark half of Ashwin, i.e. on the fifth day. This time the rath is drawn through the middle part of the town. Therefore, it is called 'Nani-cha-ya'.*

On its way back to Kumari chowk, on the last day the car halts at the Indra chowk where a huge mask-head of Akash Bhairava depicted on the outer surface of a big copper jar stands prominently. As soon as the Kumari's car halts, the rice beer is made to gush out through a long copper tube fitted into Bhairava's mouth. For the purpose, the jar is filled with rice beer and when the tap is opened the rice beer begins to stream out from the Bhairava's mouth. This kind of ritual act which is performed when the car of Kumari arrives at Indra chowk is called 'Hathu-Haye-gu'. It is the moment of an intense emotional

* Half-wife is designated as 'Nani' among the royal members.

display. As soon as the Kumari's car stands in front of the Akash Bhairava, musical bands are played and ritual of 'Hathu-Haye-gu' starts. A little of the rice beer is collected from the pipe of the Bhairava in a small glass and given to Kumari to drink. Afterwards people rush to have a little of the rice-beer. In the melli, they trample upon each other, for such is the sacred character of this rice-beer. There is also a rush for the search of a small fish supposed to come out through the pipe of the Bhairava. Any body finding this fish is regarded as a lucky person. For this purpose, a small fish will have been already put into the copper jar.

Now comes the winding up of the Kumari Jatra and Indra Jatra. It takes place at night. At the evening, say about 8 P.M., as is fixed by the astrologer, the king has to perform a ceremony before the goddess Kumari; he salutes her with the presentation of a rupee coin as is the custom in Nepal to salute the Sovereign. The Kumari puts a teeka mark on the forehead of the ^kKing, to give him the sanctity to rule over the Valley as stated elsewhere.*

* It is interesting to remark here that the State-treasury is called Kumari chouk.

Just after the above function the ceremony of felling the Linga starts. Again the usual worship and sacrifices are performed by the Vanra priests. The royal priest's soldiers present the guard of honour. Thereafter the Linga is pulled down balancing it against thick ropes and bamboo poles. The moment it is made to rest flat on the ground, the crowd rushes towards it. Each of them place his or her head on it as a mark of devotion. Then the Linga is dragged away in a procession to the bank of ^{the} Vishnumati and allowed to rest there. Such a procession is equivalent to a funeral procession.

The festival of Indra Jatra provides not only festivities and recreation by way of numerous dance-performances and feasts but it also acts as an instrument of group solidarity, While the non-participation by the non-Newars reveals the strengthening of ~~common~~ group-bond of the Newars.

Indra Jatra provides solidarity to the Newars in an indirect way also. Indra Jatra is a grim reminder of the fall of Newar kings who were defeated on this very day by Prithivi Narain Shah. The day of Indra Jatra was

especially chosen by Prithivi Narain Shah for an invasion of the Valley when the Newars were expected to be dead drunk in their merriment. The site for the Gaddi (throne) from where the Newar kings used to enjoy Indra Jatra obtrusively attracts the attention of the crowds who assemble at the Kumari chok to witness the Kumari Jatra. It is not allowed to be trodden by any body, during the Indra Jatra. To the Gorkhas it is a symbol of the memory of the victory over the Newars. For Prithivi Narain Shah after the successful invasion of the Valley came to this place and sat on the throne when its occupant king Jai Prakash Malla ran away. The Newars had to accept the Gorkha prince as their new ruler.

The festival of Machhendrasitting is, like Indra Jatra, a great national festival of the Newars. It is held in the town of Patan and attracts about a quarter of a million of people, including both the Newars and non-Newars. This festival is spread over about two months and provides an occasion for feasts and merriments to the Newar inhabitants of Patan region. Its importance and popularity among the Jyapoo Newars is well in keeping with its function connected with the agricultural life of the inhabitants of the Valley.

It is, however, purely a Buddhist festival, though as the festival in honour of the god of rain, all the people have an interest in it.

The festival of Machhendra is divided into three parts - the bathing of the deity and initiation into 'Das-Karma', the Rath Jatra, and finally the display of Machhendra's shirt on the last day. The bathing ceremony takes place under the tree of Narendra Deo in Patan on the first^{of the} dark half of Baisakh. It is the place where King Narendra Deo and his companions had halted on their return from the mount Kopotak with god Machhendra. After the deity has been painted and dressed, it is carried to the temple in the same town. In all these stages, the principal castes functionally connected with it are the ^Nikhus and the Jyapoo and the Vanras. The former have to attend to the bathing of the Machhendra's idol. On the eighth of the same month the Nikhus then hand over the deity to the Vanra priests. On the twelfth and the thirteenth of the dark half of the same month, the deity is initiated into the different social ceremonies of the Newars as in the case of the Brahmin and Kshatriya. In addition to such ten initiation ceremonies connected with a male person, the ceremonies

such as the Yihee and the Bara are also held. Earlier writers like Oaldfield and S. Levy do not mention the female part of the initiations. Such a practice of subjecting the deity to the observance of the different social ceremonies connected with a Newar individual is not confined alone to Machhendra Nath, but also practised in cases of many other deities.

The second part of the festival consists of drawing the two chariots(rath), one big and one small, through the different streets of Patan town. The two cars are constructed at the two different places, the big car at the western outskirts of the town, near the Chaitya whose construction is said to be accomplished by Ashoka and the smaller chariot at Patan itself, in the courtyard of the temple of Machhendra Nath.

The chariots are constructed in the same old manner which had existed about eight years ago in the time of Dr.Oaldfield. He writes, 'The principal car consists of a square chamber, covered with plates of copper gilt, in which the image is placed. This chamber stands in the centre of a clumsily constructed wagon about

six or seven feet high, a good deal larger than the chamber itself, so as to form a kind of gallery all around it. In this gallery the officiating Vanra priests remain during the festival. The four wheels of the wagon is a very long thick shaft, which is curved up in front, where it has a copper gilt figure of Bhairava.

"From the roof of the chamber bamboos, wooden beams etc., proceed upwards, converging towards each other so as to meet in the point above, and all strongly bound together with the rope and the cross bars of wood; leafy boughs of fir-tree, juniper, and cypress being entwined in and among it, giving the whole a green, leafy appearance, to which colour is added by a number of gay streamers and ribbons being fastened to it. At the top of this leafy column (which very much resembles a Maypole, and which is between sixty and seventy feet in height) in an ornamental pinnacle, similar to that placed on the tops of most of the temples, but having at its summit, instead of the usual Kalsa, a copper gilt figure of Vajra Satwa, the sixth Divine Buddha. Over his head is the usual copper gilt chattra, and from this rises a bunch of Juniper, cedar, the cypress boughs tied together. The weight of this

generally bends the supporting column somewhat over to one side, giving it a bowed or convex form which, while it adds to the insecurity of the structure, at the same time increases considerably its picturesque effect.

"The lesser car which follows closely in the rear of the large one, has the same general form but much less ornament about it, and its roof is merely formed of thatch-work. It also supports a column similar to that of the large one, but of much smaller dimensions".⁵

We may add a few features not occurring in the description of Dr. Oaldfield. On the upper part of the column of the cars are portrayed the emblems of the moon and the sun.

About the idols to be placed in these two cars, Dr. Oaldfield had stated that the idols are of Machhendra Nath.⁶ But the enquiries made in this connection show that it is not so. The idols of Machhendra Nath is enshrined in the big car, while the smaller car contains an idol of a deity popularly known as 'Chakuwa' deya who is believed to

5. Ibid, pp. 330-331.

6. Ibid, p. 331

be either the son or the daughter of Machhendra. The sex of the 'Chakuwa deya' is as confusing as of Machhendra himself. As stated earlier Machhendra is regarded both as a male and a female god.

The name 'Chakuwa deya' is derived from the word 'chaku' (jaggery) and 'wa' (rice) which are offered to him at the time of Machhendra being taken to Bangamati. Chakuwa deya is sometimes identified as 'Kuruna-Maya', a term used to designate Machhendra or Bunga-deya himself. This opposing beliefs only serve to show as to how the two different deities having similar functions must have been brought together by postulating a kinship between them.

The idol of Machhendra is put into the car on the first of the bright half of Baisakh and drawn to Phool chouk. On the same day the car of 'Chakuwa deya' is also brought to the same place. This is explained as Chakuwa deya 'going to receive Machhendra Nath'. On the fourth day the actual festival of car drawing starts. In this connection it may be mentioned that the date of starting the drawing of the Rath does not talley with what

Dr.Oaldfield had stated. According to him, the festival started in his time on the seventh of Baisakh. When the present writer attended the festival in 1957, it started on the fourth of the bright half of Baisakh (on the day of Parewa).

The cars roll slowly as ^{their} ~~its~~ huge structure does not permit faster movement. Hundreds of Newars, mostly of the Jyapoos caste, participate in such ceremony. The act is believed to be so sacred that many people who are not needed for the purpose simply touch the rope of the car as a symbol of having drawn the car. It is believed to bring a special luck upon the person who participates in it.

There is no time limit as to when the drawing of the cars comes to an end. They are wended in their ways through the different parts of the Patan town, and kept in each place for some days till the next auspicious hour. During the period the cars are halted at these various localities, animal sacrifices are offered to the figures of Bhairava at the yoke and ^{at} the wheels of the cars. The residents of the locality where the cars remain for the period observe feasts and merriment which also involve sacrifices of the buffalo.

There are such important halts and by the time it reaches the Jawa-Khel parade ground it is nearly a month over. There is a belief with regard to the drawing of the cars. If this car drawing ceremony soon comes to an end, it is regarded as a bad omen; but if takes a longer time for the cars to reach the Jawa Khel, it is supposed to bring good luck. Last time when the festival took place, it ended nearly after a month.

When the car arrives at the 'Lau-Khel' the ceremony of dropping a coconut from the mast of the car of Machhendra takes place. The Vanra priest climbs up to the top of the column and drops a coconut. The ceremony is watched by a huge crowd. Persons desirous of having a son try their luck to catch the coconut since it is thought to be effective for such a purpose.

During the car drawing ceremony, this festival does not attract many a person from the other regions in the Valley. It becomes a great occasion only for the inhabitants of Patan town and its adjoining regions. The festival, however, assumes a national importance on the

last day when a grand fair is held at the Jwala-Khel parade ground. It is the day on which the shirt of Machhendra is to be displayed, and is, therefore, called 'Bhoto'* Jatra. It is not only the people of Kathmandu Valley who come to participate in it, but also those who come from the surrounding regions. From the early morning all ~~the~~ roads begin to lead to Jawla-Khel. Especially the Jyapoo and the Shrestha peasants begin to pour in. Perhaps on this day only the invalids remain behind at home. Each family and groups of members under different Dewalis hold a communal feasts. Even the non-Newars hold their feasts at the ground, but in their cases the feast is not a ritual act but more or less a sort of picnic.

All wait for the momentous hour when the shirt of the deity is to be shown by the Vanra priest. Meanwhile, there is a continuous flow of Newar devotees circumambulating the car of Machhendra and offering fruits, flowers and coins to the god.

Here we may divert our attention to the inter-community significance of this festival. The

* Bhoto is a garment to be worn by the children.

non-Newar Hindus who rarely go to worship Machhendhra on the normal occasions pay due respect to him on this day and worship in the same manner as the Newars do. The presence of the King of Nepal and of the goddess Kumari from Kathmandu town connects this festival ritually with the inter-regional communities. The people who come to worship Machhendhra first worship the human goddess Kumari and present her with coins. It is also one of the occasions when the inhabitants of the Valley can have a glimpse of the royal Majesty who is regarded not only as the symbol of political unity, but also an incarnation of Vishnu. Although his visit to the 'Bhoto Jatra' is apparently to represent the highest political authority of the country, the inhabitants look upon him with religious devotion. The Bhoto Jatra is the occasion for the meeting of three great personalities of Nepal - the Machhendhra, the Kumari and the King. Each is regarded as the Sovereign of the Valley, looked from a different angle. The festival, therefore, provides an occasion for the solidarity of the Newars and the Gorkhas. Whereas Indra Jatra recalls the grim memory of victory over Newars by the Gorkhas, the Machhendhra Jatra brings together the two groups. Rain is the common need for all and Machhendhra Nath being from time immemorial the chief

rain-god and the object of extreme piety of the Newars, he could not be ignored by the non-Newars, in the same manner as the Buddha. Machhendra Jatra, therefore, becomes the national festival of the Valley, although spiritually and ritually only the Newars are associated with it.

The Bhoto or shirt is displayed when the auspicious hour is struck. It creates a tense moment of emotional excitement, all eyes having centered on the car of the Machhendra. The Vanra priest takes the Bhoto in his hands and displays it before the surging crowd. With the display of Bhoto, a guard of honour is then presented to Machhendra Nath and guns are fired in salutation. The display of Bhoto is interpreted in different ways. One of the beliefs which Wright⁷ has recorded is that the main objective involved in its is to impress the people that Machhendra carries away nothing from them and that though in poverty he is contended. The enquiry by the present writer reveals a different explanation. The Bhoto(shirt) is believed to belong to a Naga who had entrusted it to

7. Wright, D. - History of Nepal, Cambridge, 1877, pp.

the safe custody of Machhendra. Its display at the time of the festival is meant to reassure the people that it is being safely preserved. Thus notwithstanding the contradiction involved between these two different explanations, both of them go to reveal the character of Newars - their contented life.

The display of Bhoto having ended, another ceremony takes place for which the vast gathering, especially the peasant section of it, would be anxiously waiting. It is the dropping of a copper disc from the mast of the Machhendra's car. The disc is dropped down by a Vanra priest. If the disc falls on the ground upside down, it is interpreted as forboding a year of prosperity and good harvest. Just like the disc covers the ground within it, so Machhendra is believed to protect the people. But if it rests on the ground with its mouth upturned this is taken to signify ill-luck for the people of the Valley in the coming year with the failure of crops and general poverty.

With the dropping of the copper disc, the Jatra comes to an end. The Vanra priests proceed with the preparation of carrying the idol of Machhendra Nath to

the temple at Bungamati, where the deity is to remain for the coming six months. Machhendra Nath is transferred into a wooden 'Khat' and carried by the Vanras in a procession to Bungamati. But before that, Machhendra bids good-bye to Chakuwa deya, the latter is offered sweets made of jaggery and rice on behalf of the former. This offering symbolises an act of a mother who is going out, to pacify her crying child who is being left behind. After this the Chakuwa deya is carried to Patan in his car, while the idol of Machhendra is carried to Bungamati amid prayer songs and traditional music provided by the Jyapoos of Patan. On reaching Bungamati, the deity is conducted into the temple through the 'Lassa-Kussa' ceremony.

Besides such an annual festival, Machhendra Nath's festival is observed by the people also once in the twelfth year. The details are similar to those involved in the annual festival. But this time the drawing of the car does not start in Patan. But instead, it starts from the Bungamati temple. It is a very difficult job to draw such a huge structure from such a long distance and through the hilly route. The tradition-ridden Newars are, however, the slaves of their beliefs, and every detail must be adhered to with

the same procession as had been followed in the past.

There is another festival held in honour of Machhendra. It is held in Kathmandu and in no way can it be comparable with the grandeur and popularity of its counterpart held in Patan town. Although it is called by the same name, it is not the festival of Bunga deya. To distinguish it from the proper Machhendra's festival at Patan, it is called the festival of White Machhendra. The complexion of the deity in whose honour this festival is held is believed to be white in contrast to that of Bunga deya (who is of red colour). Just as Bunga deya or red Machhendra is identified as Padmapani, so is white Machhendra as Samant Bhadra, both being the Buddhist saints with the status of divine Buddha. But the two Machhendras are curiously enough regarded also as the two sisters by the illiterate Newars, though in Nepalese Buddhist scriptures, they are viewed as two different male personages.

This festival (of white Machhendra) takes place on the eighth of the bright half of Chaitra and lasts for four days during which the white Machhendra is drawn in a

car through the different parts of the Kathmandu town. The car is similar in structure to the car of Red Machhendra, but not of equal ornamentation and size. The participation in this festival is wholly confined to the Vanra priests and, therefore, it is a sectional festival.

What particular social function does this deity performs in whose honour ^{the} ~~this~~ festival is held is not clear. It is certainly not the god of harvest and of rain as the Red Machhendra is. The very term Bunga deya applied to Red Machhendra shows that he is the pivot of the economic life of the Newars. For in fact Red Machhendra is responded more emotionally by the Newars in his designation as Bunga deya.

There are a number of festivals held annually in honour of Narain or Vishnu. Narain is one of the most popular deities of the Newars, (the others being Ganesh, Bhairava and Bhairavi); temples consecrated to this deity is to be found every where, and some sort of festival is held at each temple. Of such festivals of Narain the dates are different and vary according to the introduction of the deity. Among such numerous festivals, the principal

ones are the festival of Budanil Kantha, Balaji and Changu Narain. The first two deities in form are similar with the exception that the latter is far smaller in size. Besides the Newars, all the other Hindus participate in these festivals. But these festivals do not involve the car-drawing ceremony. People only go to worship them at their temples and hold fasts in honour of them.

Besides such chief festivals of Narain, every locality or village has its own annual function associated with the worship of Narain. But these are all sectional festivals confined to some particular caste with which they are associated.

Another important and typical Newar festival is the Bhimsen Jatra celebrated in honour of Bhimsen. This festival is not so much of a national importance as are the Bhairava Jatra, the Indra Jatra and the Machhendra Jatra. Yet it is a festival held in honour of a most popular deity which does not at all figure in the belief and practices of the Brahmanic non-Newar Hindus. Each of the three principal towns in the Valley observes its own

Bhimsen Jatra in honour of its Bhimsen. But these different festivals are held on different dates. The festival provides a chief occasion for feast and merriments for the Newar trading communities. Ritually it is chiefly associated with the Thaco-ju-ju subcastes of Chatharia Newars. This festival is, however, not the chief attraction in the Valley of Kathmandu, an honour which goes to the village of Do-Lakha in the eastern Nepal. In Do-Lakha and in its adjoining village of Cherikot it constitutes the main festival, where all other gods, even Shiva, is reported to be subordinated to Bhimsen.

From the point of view of the area coverage, the festival of Bhimsen is much more important than that of Machhendra Jatra which though we have large and significant is regionally confined to the Valley of Kathmandu. All over Nepal wherever the Newars are found in a good number, the worship and festival of Bhimsen is reported to be one of the chief events along with the Gai Jatra, G^athe Mangal (to be described later), and Bhairava and Bhairavi Jatras. In places as far as Cherikot, Do-Lakha, Banepa, Gorkha, Palpa and Dhuli-Khel outside the Valley where the Newars

are found, Bhimsen Jatra is a regular annual feature. The reason for its wider popularity can be attributed to the fact that the Newars who inhabit the region outside the Valley are mostly the Shresthas, whose principal occupation is trade.

The vestival of Gathe Mangal is a widely prevalent practice of the Newars which takes place on the fourteenth of the dark half of Sravan. It is a sort of calendar festival but we have separated it out owing to its popularity and importance from the point of view of collective participation. It marks the death of the demon Gathe Mangal or Ghanta-Karan and after every eight days hereafter till the day of Dashera a demon is believed to die. The main motive involved in its celebration is to drive out the evil spirits and to protect the community and the individual from the wrath of the evil spirits. This celebration also marks the completion of rice planation. But it is strange to note that while the principal cereal food of the Newars is rice, whose cultivation is marked by this day, it is not the paddy straws, but the wheat straws which form an item of ritual connected with this festival. It is not explainable

as to how the wheat straws have come to occupy such ritual importance when the paddy is much more concerned with their life.

The collective celebration of the death of Ghanta Karan is observed by burning of its effigy in each locality. To draw an example from the ^{town} ~~town~~ of Kathmandu where the present writer had the occasion to watch this festival Gathe Mangal is burnt in every tole where the two roads meet. On the preceding night the material for making the effigy of Ghanta Karan is brought from the near by forest. It is a taboo to see it being brought. Therefore, people close their windows. Early in the morning a person of Pore caste goes round the city personating the demon Gathe Mangal as stated in the beginning of the present chapter. He demands some coins from the persons he meets. If he is refused, he pronounces a curse upon that person. It is the belief that his curse is sure to be efficacious and, therefore, the Newars are not inclined to displease him by refusing to give some coin.

In the evening at the cross road of each locality a tall effigy of a Gathe Mangal is erected. Its face is

portrayed on a white paper pasted over it. The Fore who plays the role of Ghanta Karana goes round the effigy three times. Finally he sits between the legs of the effigy which is set on fire. Then the effigy is immediately pulled down over which the person representing the Gathe Mangal is made to sit. All the people of the locality, excluding the females, participate in its dragging to the bank of the river. This is now the stage when a fight takes place between the residents of two localities. The fight very often hinges round the fact that the effigy of Ghanta Karna or Gathe Mangal of a locality is regarded as a female one, while their own they regard as a male. The male effigy is tried to be put on the female effigy of the locality through which it is dragged. The members of the locality who are accused to having a female Gathe Mangal await till the so called male effigy is dragged to their place. But they keep themselves well prepared for the fight. The moment the male effigy arrives, they not only prevent it from being put over their own effigy, but also do not allow it to be dragged away first, before their own Ghanta Karan is not taken away. In this tussle the members of both the parties come to blows often resulting in the

death of some body. The fight continues for a couple of minutes and whichever party is able to drag its Ghanta Karan first, their locality is believed to have won the fight. Now it is a question of group prestige - prestige involving one's own locality or tole. Such fights in Kathmandu town are to be notoriously found in Nardevi and Nhiykhka.

Gathe Mangal has become now a days an occasion for taking revenge upon one's enemy than the celebration of the expulsion of the demon Ghanta Karan. When the present writer was observing this festival in Kathmandu, he very nearly broke his skull since he was caught in the melee.

As between the different regions within the Valley, the festival of Gathe Mangal is more or less celebrated in the manner stated above, subject to some small variation confirming to the regional tradition. An instance of such regional variation is to be found in its observation in Kirtipur. Its celebration is typical since it is associated with the descendents of the ancient

cowherd people. On the Gathe Mangal day, a Gwala has to worship at a tank which stands on the site of the ancient cow stable. After such worship he has to distribute the 'prasad' among the people. He has to then go to every street where people await for his arrival. The moment he arrives there, the Ghanta Karan is immediately dragged away.

The domestic part of the celebration of Ghanta Karan is observed by each household. It is performed in the following manner: Three bundles of wheat straws are tied together with a kind of grass known in Newari as 'Chyal-batta', 'Nhaka' (nettle) and 'chwaka' (a kind of thorny plant). Besides these, it also includes Basi-Kachha (leaves of Peach), Dhali Kacha (twigs of Pomegranate tree) and Pasi Kacha (twigs of Pear tree). The effigy of 'Ghanta Karan' made out of such materials is then divided into two halves. One of the halves is burnt. Every room is filled with its smoke. In each of the rooms, a small piece of plaster is scratched away from the corner of the wall and collected in an earthen pot. A mixture of cow dung and mud is applied to the spot from where the white plaster has been removed. The burning torch representing the effigy

of Ghanta Karan along with the earthen pot is thrown at the 'Chhwasa'.

Having returned after the disposal of the Ghanta Karan, the person concerned does not enter the house but stands outside. The second half of the effigy of Ghanta Karan is now burnt and he warms himself by this fire and puts his hand into the smoke. He then washes his hands and feet; only then does he enter the house. Inside the house, he is given to eat five pieces of 'chhoila'. Soon after a domestic feast takes place in which all the members of the family participate.

II

CALENDAR FESTIVALS

In the foregoing pages we discussed the principal festivals of the Newars. These festivals we saw are in the nature of community participation. They affect the life of the people involving inter-relationships not only in terms of different groups but also in terms of different areas. The remaining festivals which are to follow now are more or less domestic and, therefore, they are being treated as calendar festivals. To understand as how the Newar life is lived in such festivals, we must deal with them in order of their occurrence with a passing reference to the earlier described festivals.

The calendar festivals include all the Hindu festivals commonly observed in Nepal, in addition to a few others which are typical to the Newars. We shall start with the first day of the Newari New Year. The Newar New Year commences with the first day of the bright half of Kartik. On this day, there are two different observances. First is the Goverdhan Puja which they share in common with the Gorkhas and other Hindus and the second, the festival of

Mha-Puja which is characteristically a Newar feature. 'Mha' etymologically means 'the self'. 'Mha-Puja', therefore, is the worship of 'the Self'. It is entirely confined to the members of one's own family. In the evening all the members sit in a row in order of their age seniority before each of whom there is a geometrical symbol (mandap) to represent 'Yamaraj', the god of death. Inside each Mandal, a long cotton wick of the length of a person's height is kept burning at one of its ends, to which worship is offered. This long wick is meant to represent the life of the person concerned. Even a member of the family who has died recently is assigned a place which he would have occupied had he been alive. The long cotton wick is burnt in his name also. The Thakali Naki (this time the chief married lady of the family) worships the participating members one by one and performs the ritual of Pathi-lui-gu. While doing this she starts with the eldest male member of the family and goes last to the youngest. In the same order she puts teeka-mark on the forehead of each of the individuals and gives each a garland of hand-made cotton thread to wear. Then she takes a broom and sweeps the floor totally effacing the geometrical symbols. But this time she starts from the opposite end and completes the sweeping. Then Sagan is offered to each of the members, who has to eat it on the spot. This ceremony is followed

by a feast in which all the household members participate.

'Mha-Puja' is aimed at for a long and prosperous life of each of the individuals. It also symbolises the great respect shown towards the self of the individual.

The brother-worship known as 'Kija Puja' is observed on the second of the bright half of Kartik. In Nepal it is one of the most important domestic festivals. On this day the girls have to worship their brothers. A boy and a girl who are not related as brother-sister can adopt this relationship after undergoing the necessary ceremony on this day. Although Kija means only younger brother, the prevailing custom includes the worship of elder brother also. The Gorkhas also follow this custom among whom it is known as 'Bhai-teeka'. But between these two communities the details of such ceremony are significantly different. The Newar worship is exactly like 'Mha-Puja' except that the Thakali Naki who performs the Puja is replaced by a sister. Among the Gorkhas, on the other hand, in the brother-teeka ceremony not only does the sister apply teeka to the forehead of her brother, but

the latter also reciprocates. This is, however, not to be met with the Newars. 'Teeka' can be applied to a Newar woman's forehead either by herself or by the Thakali Naki or by her husband. In almost all the ceremonies, where such service is not expected from the latter two, she has to put teeka by herself. There are also some other variations involved in the observances of the two communities. Among the Gorkhas the sister is required to put til-oil on the hair of her brother a couple of days ahead of the 'Bhai teeka'. On the day of function itself, she has to pour a stream of water around her brother with manglee leaves stuffed into the waterpot, Kalash. She has to then break a wal-nut on the threshold of the room where the function is being held. These things are not met with the Newars. The worship of the brother is expressive of the sister's wish for the long life and prosperity of her brother. But it makes one quite perplexed to discover that among the Newars in such worship, the elder brother is regarded as 'Yamaraj', the god of death and the younger one, as 'Chitra-Gupta', his assistant. If the brothers themselves were to be treated as 'Yamaraj' and 'Chitra Gupta', it is strange that it should be necessary to wish for their long life.

The next important day observed by the Newars is 'Mukha Ashtami' which falls on the eighth of the bright half

of Kartik. It is regarded as an auspicious day for two reasons: firstly, it is the chief eighth day among the twentyfour eighth days during the year; secondly, it marks the celebration of the day when the Pashupati Linga was saved by Buddha from destruction at the hands of demon Virupaksha. When Virupaksha wanted to break the Pashupati Linga, Buddha, it is said, put his tiara over it. As a result the demon mistook it for Buddha and, therefore, began to pray to it, instead of attempting to destroy it. It is, therefore, every year on this day a tiara containing five faces of Buddha is placed on the Phallus of Pashupati. Usually the Buddhist Newars, mostly the Vanras and the Gubhajas, observe a fast on this day in honour of Tri-Ratna, the Buddhist deities.

The ninth day of the bright half of Kartik is observed by the Newars as the day when 'Satya-Yuga' had begun. The current belief attached to it is that any project inaugurated on this day is sure to be a success. Good act performed on this day enables a man to go to heaven and if a sin is committed, it multiplies and the person goes to hell. This day is also marked by the pilgrimage to the temple of Changu Narain at Sankhu

Kishamand-Navami is another name given to this day. It derives such name from the practice of donating and worshipping 'Bhi-Phasi' (curirbitha Pepo).

There are three more important days in Kartik, which are sacred to the Newars. These are Hari-bodhani Ekadashi (eleventh day of the bright half), the twelfth day and the full moon day. On the first mentioned day, a fast is observed and on the next day, the Bula-nil-Kantha (Narain) temple is visited. The full-moon day of Kartik is especially sacred to the Buddhist Newars. All of them go to visit the temple of Swayambhu Nath and go round its hill. It involves the act of scattering around the hill small pieces of Saki (bulb of Arum colacasia), 'hi' (Sweat-Potato), 'Lai' (Raddish) and panch-Bihi (five kinds of grass). Apart from these the Kartik month is also important for raising the Akash Batti (sky lamp) with which we shall deal at the end of the present chapter since according to the Newar Calender it commences at the end of the year.

During the dark half of Margsir the important religious event observed is the Bala-charhe dedicated to the propitiation of mother goddess and to the ^Souls of the dead.

It takes place on the fourteenth of the dark half. This day is especially dedicated to Indriani in Kathmandu to whom 'Sarpahuti' is offered. It consists of sacrificing a pair each of snakes, doves, sparrows and a buffalo and a goat. A day earlier the Manandhars sacrifice a pig to the goddess. The scattering of 'sathag' (nine kinds of seeds) round the hill of Pashupati in memory of the dead is performed on this day. Although a person aspiring for the salvation of his very son can also take up this pilgrimage, it is especially connected with the cult of the dead and is more popularly followed by those Hindu Newars in whose house a death has occurred during the year. It is just a counter-part of the Buddhist Newars' custom of going round the Swayambhu hills.

The next important Newar festival is the 'Yo-marhi' Punhi, which falls on the full moon day of Margsir. This festival is celebrated by eating a special kind of cake called 'Yo-Marhi'. It marks the celebration of the new harvest and is rooted in the belief of increasing the wealth. In the mythology, it is said that once upon a time god Kuber wanted to put a merchant of Panchal^{desh*}

* This place is identified with the present village Panauti situated in the region of Bhatgaon in the Valley.

to a test. Kuber, therefore, disguised himself as a begger and begged at the door of the said merchant. He was received by the merchant with utmost hospitality and given to eat 'Yo-marhi' made out of rice-flour, black-til and jaggery. God Kuber was so pleased by the hospitality that he revealed his identity and gave 'Taha-si' (common citron) to his host. Since then this observance is believed to have been followed by the Newars. The current practice in this respect among the peasant Newars is that as soon as the new harvest is stored in the house, they prepare 'Yo-marhi', eat and distribute these among the people. A few 'yo-marhis' are placed over the heaps of the paddy and allow them to be there for four days. During the interval they never open the store-room. Women are tabooed from either touching the paddy or seeing the 'yo-marhi' being kept on the paddy heaps. It is generally believed that during the period of four days the quantity of grain will be increased. Among the non-peasant Newars 'yo-marhi' is more currently placed in the cash boxes.

It is also regarded very commendable to go about on this day asking for 'yo-marhis' from others and eat them.

The celebration of 'Yo-marhi Funi', apart from aiming at the increase in prosperity, is also designed to bring good health and general happiness. 'Yo-marhi' also becomes an essential ceremonial item in the 'Yihee' and 'Burha' junco ceremonies of the Newars. Besides in the birth-day ceremony, it is very necessary.

The observance of 'Khila-ga-ya' Dashami on the ninth of the dark half of Marga is purely a Buddhist function. Worship and fast on this day are designed to help get one's desires fulfilled.

'Ukhucharhe' is another important calendar festival of the Newars, which is observed on fourteenth of the dark half of Paush. It is the day when the Newars pray for peace and protection of the family. The common way to observe it is to bake the sugar canes and explode it by striking it against the ground. The sound produced thus is believed to drive out the evil spirits. During this month, there are two more important religious days on the eighth and the

fifteenth days respectively. The first one is the day when the festival of white Machhendra begins in Kathmandu which we have dealt with elsewhere. The full-moon day of this month is especially sacred to the Buddhist Newars who pay usual visit to Swayambhu temple, while the Hindu Newars go to worship at the temple of Changu Narain.

The first important festival in the month of Magh is the Ghya-chaku-Sankhu' (Makar Sankranti) which falls on the first day according to the Vikram era. It fell on the second of the dark half of Magh last time. On this day the Newars take bath early in the morning. Every Newar mother on this day anoints the hair of her children with mustard oil boiled with urid pulse. Thereafter every member of the family is offered by the chief lady of the house a piece of solidified ghee, jaggery and a sweat-ball of black-til. Then follows the family feast. It is believed to bring health and longevity of life. But this is also observed by the Gorkhas in a similar manner. Shri-Panchami is observed on the fifth day of the bright half of the same month in honour of the goddess Saraswati by the Hindu Newars. The only difference between the Hindus and the Newars in its observance is that the Buddhist section of the Newars replaces the Hindu goddess

Saraswati with Manjusri, a male god, whom they regard as the god of learning. Such worship is believed to give knowledge and riches. Children are initiated into schooling on this day which is common to all the inhabitants of the Valley.

'Shila Charhe' is observed on the fourteenth of the dark half of Falgun and is especially sacred to Lord Pashupati. A great fair is held in honour of Pashupati, which attract tens of thousands of pilgrims from India. On this day, the Newar children go from door to door asking for firewood and some cash. They keep awake at the following night by making campfire in every tole in honour of Shiva. It is also the day when a mixture of fried pulses, Mecca, wheat and black Soya-bean is eaten by every Newar. This is also the day when the Manandhars worship their oil-mills. There is no other important date during the dark half of this month.

Holi is a very popular festival not only among the Newars but also among all the inhabitants of the Valley. It is observed for seven days especially by the Newars beginning with the eighth of the bright half of Falgun. After the burning of the 'Chir' on the morning of the full-moon day, the Holi is brought to an end. Although Holi is a very

popular festival among the Newars, the burning of the cheer is comparatively rare. Only one cheer is erected near the Pashupati ghat. In one of the Nepalese folk songs Holi is referred to as the festival of the King: "Raja-ko-Hori Jai Jana lagyo". Therefore, it does not appear to be a celebration of the people, but has been fully adopted.

The chief festivals held during the month of Chaitra are 'Chahan Deya', 'Du-Du-chya-chya', Pasha Charhe, 'Ghore-Jatra', 'Chauban Nha', 'Ram Naumi' and 'Lhuti Funhi'. The 'Du-Du-Chya-Chya' is held in honour of Mahadeo on the eighth of the same dark half. On this day a small idol of Mahadeo is placed in a small chariot and drawn to Kathmandu town in a procession accompanied with loud music. On the way people keep on shouting 'Du-Du-Chya-Chya-Papa-Gui'. This means that the Pishach Chatur-dashi (fourteenth of the dark half of the month) is only eight days ahead. The idol of Mahadeo is again taken back to the temple of Pashupati. It is followed by the observance of 'Pana(n) charhe' or 'Pishach chaturdashi'. This day is especially dedicated to the worship of Mahadeo, Pithas and Devis. It is a day of feast for the Newars involving the feasting of married daughters. In the same night 'Luku-Mahadeo' as already described is worshipped.

In this worship a significant feature to note is that even the orthodox Buddhist Newars such as the Vanras and Udas worship Mahadeo in the form of 'Luk-Madeo'. It is also the day as we have seen when the Neta-Ajima Jatra takes place. Side by side a joint festival is held in honour of Kankeshwari and Bhadrakali. It is a day of merriment because on this day the evil spirits and ghosts are believed to be driven off. Though on the same day another festival, Ghore Jatra (festival of Horse) is also held, this does not touch much upon the religious life of the Newars, its being a Parbatia tradition. This festival is celebrated by collecting all the state horses and ponies and a race-past is held in the presence of the king and the officials. Those Newars employed in the civil services have to participate in it by their presence. This day is, however, dedicated to the worship of the various mother-goddesses of the Valley. The idols of gods and goddesses are carried to the Tundi-Khel parade ground. At mid-night the goddess Kankeshwari is made to circumambulate the goddess Bhadra Kali and burning torches are exchanged on behalf of the two deities. Moreover it is also the day when animal sacrifices are offered to these two goddesses on behalf of every Newar family. The next event in the month is the celebration of Ram Naumi, the Rama's ninth birth day. Rama is far less popular among the

Newars than Krishna and Balram. The rarity of his temple in the Valley points out in this direction. They, however, worship him and observe fast on this day. A day earlier the festival of white Machhendra, the Newars keep busy in the Kathmandu town. The full-moon day of the month is called by the Newars as 'Luti Punhi'. They go to the hill of the Nagarjun to worship a Buddhist deity after which they try to thread their way through a narrow cave. It is the existing belief that only the pious ones are able to be successful in this attempt. This is called 'Jari Lava(n)'.

The next important event is the worship of the Dewali deity. It commences on the first of the bright half of Baisakh till its end on the 'Sithi Nakha' day. The Dewali worship begins with a feast known as 'Chhoyala Bhu'. It begins a day earlier in the house of the Thakali (the head of the group). The participants in this ceremonial feast are the heads of each of the individual family. If any one of such heads are unable to attend the feast, he may be represented by any male member of his family, preferably his brother who is junior to him. The management of this feast is not to be carried out by the Thakali of the Dewali Guthi, but by the head of an individual family upon which

such responsibility has fallen by rotation. The feast comprises of the flattened rice, buffalo and goat meat, and all kinds of green vegetables, boiled seeds, different kinds of pulse-grains, ginger and black soyabin. The feast owes its name to the special type of buffalo meat preparation served which is known as 'Chhóyala'. It is prepared by boiling the meat and then mixing it with salt, pepper and spices.

The participants in the 'Chhoita-Dhu' take their respective seats in order of the seniority of their ages. The seat at the head of the row is reserved for the Digu Deya who is also offered a share of feast. The next seat is occupied by the Thakali and the subsequent one, by his respective juniors. The first nine seats, including that of the Digu Deya are important. The persons who occupy these seats are thus Digu Deya, Thakali, Nokuli, Sokuli, Pekuli, Nya-Kuli, and so on. These eight members of the Guthi are the elders of the group and are known as stated elsewhere as 'Chhutee'. After them sit the Thakali Naki and Nakuli Naki. At the other end of the row a seat is reserved for the spirit of the house where the feast is being held. Then the other participants occupy their respective seats in order. Families under joint ownership

of property, though they may be living in separate households, are treated as a single unit.

In the feast each of the participants is served with food in a Sal-leaf dish. In the middle of the dish is kept the chewra and on the top of it, a little Haku-Musya (black Soya bean) and Palu (ginger). The Chhoyala meat is then served. These are the main items of the ceremonial feast, in addition to which other preparations may be or may not be served.

Before eating, the ritual of Deo-chaya takes place. Each of the participating members offers a little of the share of their food to the Digu Deya. Liquor and tho(n) (rice beer) is profusely consumed. After the Chhoyala-Bhu, all the members of the individual families are prohibited from eating boiled rice till the day of 'Sradha-Khunu' (Shraddha day). The following subsequent rituals are observed in connection with the Dewali worship:

- i) Digu-Kheya-Puja Wane-gu;
- ii) Kola-gu;
- iii) Sulhana;
- iv) Sradha-Khunu; and
- v) Deya-Tiuke-gu-bhari-Wai-gu.

The ceremony of Digu-Kheya-Puja-Wane-gu involves the act of going to the field for worship and feasting where the Dewali deity has its shrine in an aboriginal condition. It takes place on the day following the Chhoila-Bhu feast. Early in the morning the members of the individual families undergo the ritual purification of 'Nisi-ya-gu', which includes the 'Ala-Taye-gu' to be undergone by the women-folk. On behalf of each of the families the items of worship is sent to the house of the Thakali in a copper pot called 'Kala(n)'. All these copper pots containing the worshipping material are then put in a big brass or copper vessel to be carried to the Digu-Kheya. Among some of the Newars, there is the tradition that each family should have its own arrangement to bring the Kala(n) to the Digu-Kheya.

The members of all the participating families including small children, assemble at the house of the Thakali. The Digu Deya (the Dewali) is then placed in an earthen vessel and worshipped by the Thakali. The Thakali then picks up one of the deities, the chief one (for there may be a number of deities). He then asks the other male members to take each. All the deities are then placed in a brass vessel and bathed. Then the deities and their

ornaments are placed together in a basket and transferred into a Khat. In the Khat each deity is given its appropriate place.

The procession starts when the incantations by the priest is over. The position of the members in the procession always follows a set pattern. In the procession, at the head, are the Kusle musicians, then comes a person dragging the goat for sacrifice; then comes the Thakali with an earthen fire-pot holding in his hand. He is then followed by the men who carry Digu Deya. The other members then follow. It is said that the women generally do not join the procession, but reach the place of worship about one or half an hour earlier. But it is stated that there is no rule forbidding the women from joining the procession.

Having arrived at the Digu-Khya, the Lo-Digu* representing the Dewali deity at the site is washed. Over it a little rice is placed which is subsequently followed by the placing of a sun-dried fish** and a

* The stone are known as Lo Digu (stone god).

** This fish is known as Java-Chatu-Pi-Nya. The fish should always have its tale curved to the right.

flower. This fish is the most essential item in the Dewali worship. Each of the brass deities (Lo-Digu) is mounted on the respective stone deities (Lu(n) Digu), the fish providing the Asanas. The worship is done by the Thakali under the guidance of the priest. In the case of poor class or low caste Newars, the participation of priest is not essential and the Thakali is the leader-cum-priest. The worship to Dewali is preceded by worships to the Sun, Guheshwari, Jogini, Bhairava and Ganesh. Ganesh, Bhairava and Jogini are as usual represented, respectively, by the Sukunda (ceremonial lamp), the Anti (a pot containing tho(n)), and the Khaye-kuri (a pot containing liquor). Besides, the ten-Digpalas (the ten devine sentinels) are also worshipped. After such preliminaries, the worship of the Dewali now starts.

In front of each of the Dewali deities, a Chaitya-like object made out of Chewra-paste is placed in a row. This object is known as 'Goja' in Newari. The Gojas are offered a garland of hand-made thread and a burning incense stick is planted over the tops of each of each of the Gojas. Flowers, fruits and ducks' eggs are offered to them. Then follows the offering of worshipping materials brought on behalf of each of the families. The

next step in the ceremony is to show the Jwala Nhyaka to each of the Digu deities. This is done by the Thakali. Over the Jwala Nhyaka a little cow's milk is poured from a conch-shell and some flowers are also put over it as a token of worship. A little quantity of cow's milk is sprinkled over the Dewali deities. It is also sprinkled over the participating members. Then the Swa(n)-Chhayegu follows. It consists of the joint offering of flowers by the members present. This is divided into two stages - first, only the Thakali has to offer the flowers, and then only the other members. For such purpose the party is formed into two separate rows - of males and females. Each person takes his or her place according to seniority. Whenever the Thakali is unable to participate in the worship, the Nokuli has to officiate, in whose case the details are some what different. In such cases he can not offer the flowers in the manner the Thakali does. A long bamboo staff is employed for this purpose. The one end of the bamboo staff is held by the priest and the other by the Nokuli. The flowers are placed on the bamboo staff and offered to the Dewali with the uttering of invocation by the priest. This is required only in respect of the Digu deity. The remaining deities can be offered flowers by the Nokuli without the aid of the priest and the bamboo stick.

Sacrifice of goat to the Digu follows next. (Photo 96a). This is the most important part of worship. In Newari language it is known as 'Dugu.Syaye-gu'. The goat is worshipped and water is sprinkled over its body. The moment the goat shakes its body to rid the drops of water from its hair, it is immediately caught hold of and not allowed to shake itself for the second time. The belly of the goat is made to rest on the left thigh of the person who keels down on his left leg. The four limbs of the goat is pulled behind the back of the person and held together by another man. The sacrificer holds the knife in his right hand and with his left he turns round the neck of the goat, so as to expose its front side towards the Digu deities. Then the sacrificer passes the knife slowly across the neck of the goat. When the neck is cut off half-way, he stops and allows the stream of blood to gush forth over the deities. Afterwards the neck is completely severed and placed on the ground with its snout facing toward deities. A little quantity of rice along with a burning wick is placed on it. Then the belly of the carcass is ripped open just below its hind legs and long pieces of its intestine are pulled out and cut off. The intestine is filled with air and put around the deities to serve as a garland. (Photo 96a).

Among the many sections of the Newars, the 'Kul'-deity which is also worshipped along with Digu or Dewali deities is thought not to accept the animal sacrifice. For example many of the Newars have Buddha or Shiva or Machhendra or Narain as their 'Kul' deity. In such cases, the non-vegetarian deities are separated out and kept in a basket at a little distance away from the Digu deities. They are offered milk while Digu deities are offered the goat sacrifice.

Just after the sacrifice of the goat the 'Bhau-Macha-Du-Kaye-gu' ritual follows. This means introducing the daughters-in-law of the family to the Digu deities. All the daughters-in-law who were married in after the preceding Dewali worship have to be admitted into the fold of Dewali cult. Unless it is done, they are not regarded as the full members of their husbands' homes. Such daughters-in-law will have been waiting outside till the goat sacrifice is over. Then they are conducted to the place of worship with the same ceremonies such as 'Do-Chhaye-gu' and 'Lusa-Kusa' as were performed when they had entered their husbands' homes for the first time after marriage. They are then asked to offer to the Dewali a handful of rice, one pice and a betelnut as a token of worship.

After the introduction of these daughters-in-law or 'Bhau-Macha' the joint offering of rice to the Digu deities is performed. The daughters-in-law, thus admitted, have to then present the Nisala to the deities as well as to the chief elders of the group. The Nisala is a big earthen pot containing Bajee (flattened rice), sweat meats and two betelnuts. First, the Nisala is offered to the deities, then to the priest, then to the Thakali, and the other elders of the group and finally to the Thakali-Naki and the Nokulee Nakee. When the presentation of Nisala is over, the priest applies a teeka mark on the forehead of each of the newly admitted daughters-in-law. This is the only time when a Newar woman is applied teeka to her forehead by a male person other than her husband.

The next stage of the ceremony is the eating of Samaya, ceremonial breakfast. Later on the main ceremonial feast takes place. The menu is the same as required in all the other ceremonial feasts. Even a child who is born recently has to be given full and equal share. Such shares are brought home.

After the ceremonial feast follows 'Sika-Bhu'. The cult of 'Sika-Bhu' is an important feature of the

Dewali-worship. It means the distribution of the various parts of head of the sacrificed goat among the eight senior members of the group. The entire head is first cooked and then its various parts are distributed in the manner following among the different members:

Priest	-	The snout
Thakali	-	The right eye
Nokuli	-	The left eye
Sokuli	-	The right ear
Pekuli	-	The left ear
Nyakuli	-	The right side of the lower jaw
Khakuli	-	The left side of the lower jaw
Nhekuli	-	The tongue
Chyakuli	-	gets nothing.

After the distribution of the goat's head all sit together to eat their respective shares. They consume liquor and tho(n) (rice beer) profusely.

After sunset, the party returns home in a procession, headed by the bearers of the oil-lamp and the traditional brass lamp, Sukunda. At various places, the party stops to rest and at each time the deities are

worshipped. This is known as 'Leesa-Tayegu'. The sun-dried fishes mentioned earlier are distributed each time among the members. The fish has to be swallowed by each of the member without allowing it to be touched by the teeth. The party proceeds straight way home, but stops at the Pikha-Lukhee in front of the house of the Thakali. With the performance of Du-chha-ye-gu and Lasa-Kusa, the deities are conducted into the house.

Among some of the Newars, before the Dewali deities are taken into the house of the Thakali, they have to be first taken into the house of each member family turn by turn. Each time the ritual of door worship accompanied by the Lasa-Kusa is undergone. Then finally the Dewali deities are brought into the house of the Thakali. At every house when the door Puja and the Lasa-Kusa ceremonies take place, it is the Thakali Naki and the Nokuli Naki of the group who take up the ceremonial leadership. Everytime when the worship of the door takes place, the Dewali deities are offered Sagan, which is followed by the eating together of Samaya by all the fukees present.

In the same night Mu-Digu-Puja is performed, which is to be followed by a ceremonial feast known as

Kalah -Wayegu. Kalah-Wayegu is a ritual performed for warding off the influence of evil spirits. This ritual takes place at the time of all ceremonial eatings.

Next day the worship called 'Ko-la-ga' is observed. At this occasion, the Anti, the Khyai-Kuri and the Ghaucha are also worshipped. A ceremonial feast is also held and those members who do not eat may bring home their shares. Yet another feast is held on the day following the 'Ko-la-ga' worship, in which the chewra (flattened rice) and the leaf dishes have to be brought by each member from his or her own home.

The Dewali worship finally comes to an end with the performance of Shraddha. It is usually held on the fourth day. This is performed in memory of those who had founded the Dewali Guthi, and the Dewali are regarded as witnesses to such a Shraddha. It always takes place in the house of the Thakali and the pindas of barley flour are offered to the souls of the founder-members. The pindas are taken to the river Vishnumati (in case of the inhabitants of the Kathmandu town) accompanied by a man carrying the sand used in the Shraddha and by another who

carries a share of food. The food, if possible, is to be offered to a cow. Otherwise it is thrown into the river along with the pindas.

While the bearers of Pindas are on their way to the holy river, the Kusle is offered cooked rice and also a share of the feast. The number of shares to be received by the Kusle depends upon the number of souls of the dead to be propitiated. These rites are respectively known as 'Ja-Bwo' (offering of cooked rice) and 'Kaula-Bwo' (offering of the feast).

Only after the rite of 'Ja-Bwo' and 'Kaula-Bwo' have been performed, do the members eat samaya. Finally the feast is held in which only the head of each of the member families participate.

Next day, all the heads of the families assemble at the house of the Thakali. The expenditures involved are calculated. The amount spent in excess of the income of the Dewali Guthi, is equally distributed among all the heads of the member-families. If the expenditure is less than the income, the credit balance is carried forward to the next year's account. At this time a feast is again arranged.

By the Sikhi-Nakha day (the sixth of the bright half of Jaistha) all the Newars must have completed the Dewali worship.

The period of Dewali coincides with the festivals such as Bunga-ya, Machhendra Jatra, Buddha Jayanti which have already been described earlier and, therefore, need not be dealt with here. An important observance intervening this period is the 'Malati-chare' observed on the fourteenth of the dark half of Baisakh. On this day, the Newars see the faces of their mothers and offer feasts to them. Those whose mothers have died go to the tank of Mata-tirtha to offer Shraddha to the souls of their deceased mothers.

The Sithi Nakha day is also significant to note. This day is observed in honour of Kumar (brother of Ganesh) and, therefore, called the Kumar's Sixth. Further it is also regarded as the day of Rama's victory over Ravana. On this day especially the peasant Newars make an emblem of Kumar on the ground in front of the entrance of the house and offer worship to it with black pulse, green pulse, masur pulse, mecca-breads and several kinds of Newar sweets. Such a worship is believed to bring protection against distress during the year. This day is also more popularly connected

with cleaning of the day after which it derives its name. Every well in the Valley is cleaned. It is believed that on this last day of Dewali worship, all the Nagas which dwell in the wells go out for worshipping their Dewali. It is, therefore, chosen for cleaning the wells. During the bright half of Baisakh, an important celebration is the Buddha Jayanti on the full-moon day when the idol of Buddha is taken out in a procession (Photo 98). In it ^{only} ~~all~~ the Buddha-margi Newars only participate and it is a special feature in the Kathmandu town.

During the bright half of Jaistha, a few festivals such as Dashehra (on the tenth), Jya-Punhi and Panauti-Snan (on the full moon day) are quite significant. This Dashehra should not be confused with the popular festival following Navaratra. Its observance is marked by the eating of the green vegetables of the year, besides involving worship of Ganesh and the Pithas. Jya-Punhi is observed on the full moon day, when the eating of Chhusya-Musya constitutes the main part of the celebration. 'Musya' means black-soyabean which abundantly is cultivated in the Valley. The Chhusya-Musya includes several kinds of fried seeds mixed with mustard oil and chilli-powder. On this occasion married daughters are especially invited to participate in the feast.

Coming to the month of Asadh, there are a number of sectional festivals held in honour of the different gods and goddesses in the Valley. One among them is the Trisul Jatra on the eighth of dark half of the month at Deva Patan. The Newars call it Mach-ya which derives its name from the event that takes place in this festival. It is said that in the former days a child used to be balanced on a long trisul (trident). Now a days such a practice has been discontinued. On the twelfth of the bright half of the month the planting of Tulsi plant is the chief religious activity of the Hindu Newars. But the Buddhist Newars do not observe it. This month's event is rounded off by observing the teacher's day on the coming full moon day and is more popularly known as 'Gu-Punhi'.

Shravan month is of a special significance both to the Hindu and Buddhist Newars. In Newari it is called 'Gula'. The whole month is devoted to fasting and visit to the temple of Swayambhu Nath by the Buddhist, while the Hindu Newars dedicate it to the worship of Pashupati. During this month the Buddhist castes go in the morning to visit various Buddhist and Hindu temples such as Ganesh, Bhairava and Kumari accompanied with their respective caste-musics. In these the Vanras, the Udas and the

Manandhars are more typical than the others. During the bright half of this month the Buddhist Newars make clay Chaityas and immerse them into waters of Vishnumati. This rite is called Lakha Chaitya Hawan. On the first day of Gula, the making of Chaitya starts. Every day a person whose family is the member of the Gula Dharma Guthi has to come to the house where the ritual of making the Chaitya is being performed. The house where such a ceremony is to take place is chosen according to the age-seniority of each of the head of the families. All of the participating families should be of the same lineage group. Daily the Chaityas are made on behalf of each family and side by side each day a pilgrimage is made to the temple of Swayambhu. By the time the Gula month comes to an end, the number of clay Chaityas are supposed to number one and quarter lakhs. A day earlier to their disposal, these are worshipped and deep-dan (the lighted wick)^{are} offered to them on behalf of each of the families. On the last day, the Hawan ceremony takes place in which a Gubhaju priest officiates. Besides the Chaityas, several of the other deities are also worshipped. The dishes of curd are placed to represent the sun and the moon, a Kalash pot containing Panchamarit to denote auspiciousness, Mangal and an earthen pot to represent Nag-Sadhana (Control

of the snake gods). Ganesh, Bhairava, Guheshwari and Kumari are, as usual, worshipped.

The worship is initiated by the head of the family on whom the turn for the year has fallen. After the Puja, all women assemble to form a procession, each with a basket containing a few number of the Chaityas. These women arrange themselves in order of their social status, the Thakali Naki being at the head and the youngest woman taking her place last (Photo 101). The procession proceeds towards the river accompanied with the caste-music. It has to pass through the route meant for the funeral procession. On reaching the river, the clay Chaityas are immersed into the water all in a heap. Then worship is offered to them. They all circumambulate the Chaityas, and afterwards return home. This ceremony is a counterpart of the Hindu ritual of the 'Koti-Ahuti'. The important point to note about this ritual is that although it is purely a Buddhist worship, the worship of Hindu deities with the use of liquor and buffalo meat has become a component part of it.

The Hindu Newars may refrain from eating non-vegetarian food during the whole month. In addition to ^{sacredness attached to it, the whole month is crowded with such} such other important festivals such as Gathe Mangal, Vanra

Jatra, Nag Panchami, Gu-Puni (Rakhi Purnima) and Byancha Janake (frog worship). We take up here for review only the fourth and the fifth among these which have not been described so far. In common with the other Hindus, pictures of Nagas are pasted on the top of the door of every house. Especially the Jyapoo Newars appear to be more sentimentally attached to this festival. Nag-Panchami is believed to terminate the rainy season.

Rakhi-Poornima (on the full-moon day of Sravan) marks the completion of rice planting. It is a day of great festivity which is notable for the eating of nine kinds of seeds. The festival starts with a ceremonial bath in the morning and getting the Brahmin priest to tie the yellow thread round the right wrist, a feature common to both the Newars and the Gorkhas. There is, however, a difference between these two communities with regard to the type of yellow thread (Rakhi) to be used. The Gorkhali Brahmins use only the yellow thread for such purpose, whereas Deo Bhaju Brahmins make the yellow thread with small packets strung into it containing incense, neem-leaf, goroChan, vermillion, Duba-grass, mustard seeds, curd and rice-grains.

It may be remarked that a very important attribute of Rakhi Poornima in India is the tying of Rakhi by the

sister to her brother's wrist. This is, however, not to be observed in Nepal, where the Kija-Pooja (brother's worship) in Kartik is the only occasion for the manifestation of the brother's worship.

The other distinguishing features of this day are the worship of frog, (Byancha Janake) and the eating of nine kinds of seeds on the full moon day of Sravan.

While to the higher caste Newars Rakhi Poornima is the occasion to celebrate the departure of Krishna to the world below the earth (Patal Puri) to serve demon Bali, lower caste Newars look upon it as the day for the triumph of virtue over the evil. For it is believed that on this day a demon dies, the first one having died on the Gatha-Mangal day.

The month of Bhadrapad is full of festivals and most of them are accompanied with the additional observance in memory of the dead relatives. We have already described about the festivals of Gai Jatra, Krishna Jatra, Vanra Jatra and the Linga Jatra. We need to deal here only with the four other festivals such as Mata-Ya, the Krishna's eighth, the sacred bathing at Gokarna and the Chatha or Ganesh Chaturthi.

Mata-ya or the festival lamp is observed by the inhabitants of Patan. It takes place on the next day of Gai-Jatra (the festival of cow) i.e. on the second of the dark half of Bhadra. This festival is full of colour as it is indicative of the Newar religious piety. On this day hundreds of Newars go round the city in procession visiting the Chaityas in that city and worshipping them which are said to number about 1400. This festival derives its name from the practice of carrying a lamp by each of the participants. Of the people who mostly take part in it are the orthodox Buddhists such as the Vanras and the Jyapoos of Patan. Men participating in it form several groups wearing different dresses and with 'ghungru' (tiny bell-like objects) tied to their legs. Some of them disguise themselves as animals and jokers, who create a very comic scene. Each of these mask-wearers is supposed to represent a demon who is said to have tried to disturb Gautama Buddha in his meditation. The men who dance with 'Ghungru' lie down flat on the ground after a few steps every time. This obviously results in scratches and bleeding of the knees and hands. The majority of participants, however, comprises women holding each a burning lamp in a Kala pot. The procession visits the various Bahal and the Chaitya temples. It finally terminates at the place of start.

The Mata-ya, like the Mata-Biyu-Wanegu in Kathmandu, is an act dedicated to the memory of the dead and the women participants are mostly from those families in which a death had occurred during the year. The difference between it and its counterparts in Kathmandu lies in the fact that in this festival each person carries a lamp in her hand, as against the practice in Kathmandu to place the earthen lamps on the ground.

With regard to the origin of this festival there are two different beliefs existing among the Newars. Firstly it is regarded as an attempt to bestow peace upon the souls of the dead. This belief is strongly held by the Jyēpoos. The second explanation is from the high caste Buddhists. According to them, it marks the atonement observed by the demons. The demons and spirits having failed in their attempt to break the vow of Gautama Buddha, atone for their sins on this day. This explanation is, however, not so popular among the illiterate masses who hold the first belief.

The above festival in addition has its social significance besides the religious ones. It also provides the occasion for making comments on the society and individual. Some of the mask-wearers are especially

designed for such roles. Any political or social event of the year which was met with the community's disapproval figure in this festival for criticism. In Kathmandu such criticisms are made during the Indra-Jatra. The festival also serves as the means for propaganda, since it is a good occasion for mass-communication. Especially, it was the only method in the past for the public comments to be made known when the modern means of mass-communication like the Newspapers and the radios could not be dreamt of by the people in the Valley.

The Krishna's eighth is a favoured observance of the Newars. On this day, the Shivamargi Newars observe fast. The Krishna Mandir in Patan becomes the centre of attraction, for the Hindus, where a fair is held. The overwhelming majority of the people coming to this temple for worship are the non-Newar Hindus - mostly from the Gorkha community. A few Shivamargi Shresthas and Jyapoos also make it a point to worship at the Krishna Mandir. The popular way of Newar celebration of this day has, however, its own configuration. It is in the form of Krishna Jatra and exhibition of Krishna's picture on the streets. On the day, every street is decorated with numerous pictures of Hindu gods and goddesses, especially those connected with Krishna's life. It is especially notable in respect of the Jyapoos. The day is also marked by a

procession which goes round the city. In the procession Krishna Balram, Radha, Gopis and Gopinis are personified and they form the object of chief attraction. In the next day a similar Jatra is held in Panga village in which the whole community participates.

With regard to the custom of sacred bathing at Gokarna on the last day of the dark half of Bhadra, it is a common feature for all the inhabitants of the Valley. Among the Newars this day is more popular as the day dedicated to one's own father. A feast is held in honour of the father. People whose fathers have died go to bathe and offer Pindas at Gokarna. The Hindu and the Buddhist Newars as well as the non-Newar Hindus, all participate in it. The site of Gokarna derives its sacredness because of the Gokarneshwar Mahadeo which presides over the bank of Bagmati at a point where the sacred river takes slightly a northerly bend.

On the fourth of the bright half of Bhadra, the Ganesha's fourth is the first important sacred day for the Newars. Although it is a day dedicated to Ganesh, its observance is more popularly connected with quite a different feature. This day is known as 'Chatha' among the Newars. At the morning Ganesh is worshipped with the offering of sweat-

balls (laddu) and raddishes. Soon after the sun-set, all the Newars, after the worship of the moon without seeing it, hide themselves in a room. None of them is seen moving out though the non-Newars do not mind going about their usual business. In such matter the former is so traditional-bound that even the windows are tightly closed, and if there were any creaks in the windows or doors, it is tightly stuffed with cotton-pads. The reason for such hiding is the fear of seeing the moon which is said to result in being accused of as a thief.

The worship of Basundhara-Devi among the Buddhist Newars is a popular festival. It takes place on the last day of Kumari Jatra (i.e. on the third dark of Ashwin). In 1957 its date fell on the 12th November. In this worship a Vanra priest is employed and all those families who are the members of the same Dewali Guthi sit together to worship the goddess. All of them have to wear yellow clothes and take their seats in the order of their age seniority. The worship is somewhat analogous to Upakao-Hawane-gu. After the Puja, a grand feast is held in which all of them participate. This worship is designed to bring prosperity and wealth upon the family and therefore concerns with the material welfare of the clan.

The month of Ashwin starts with the observance of Pitri-Paksh, a fifteen-day period sacred to the manes. During this period, the Hindu and the Buddhist Newars alike within this period offer Shraddha to their dead relatives. The day is selected on which the father had died. Pindas are offered to the manes and a feast is held afterwards. The offering of Pindas is not confined to one's own relatives only, but extends to others also. Thus it is typical of them to make the occasion for the offering of oblation, to the King, and the distinguished person of the locality, who have recently died. Oblations are also offered to the soul of a dead servant and of such animal pets of the house. As stated elsewhere, the pindas to be offered are made of barley-flour and not of rice. Of one's own relatives whose souls have to be offered Pindas come within seven generations both on the mother's and the father's sides. The occasion is officiated in by the priest. Thus we find that the offering of oblation at this occasion is designed for the unity of kins, locality and the country. Whether it is a survival of the former social organisation when the tribal chief might be the leader of the community one cannot say.

Apart from the Kumari Jatra, there is no other festival during the dark half of the month. The fourteenth dark half of Aswin is marked by the worship of Bhairava and

Pithas and is especially sacred to the Newars who have their Agama deities. It is the day when esoteric rituals are briskly observed and worship is performed at the Smashanas. But these activities are mostly confined to the Bajra Charyas (Buddhist priests) and Achaju and Joshi sub-castes who are connected with the tantric practices and with the worship of Shaktis and Shaktas. Though a person desiring salvation for his soul in the next world can also join in it, it is especially connected with ^{the} ~~the~~ memory of the souls of the dead. It is more currently followed by the Hindu Newars only. Persons in whose families death has occurred during the year go round the hill of Pashupati and perform the act of scattering the 'Sapta-Beej'. It is a counter-part of the Buddhist Newars' custom of going round the hill of Swayambhu.

With the beginning of the lunar half of Ashwin a series of religious observances are inaugurated. Of these one is the commencement of Navaratra. It starts on the first day of the bright half of the month. It is a great occasion both for the Newars and the non-Newars. Buddhism does not constitute an obstacle to its celebration by the Buddhamargi Newars. The country taken as a whole, the celebration of Navaratra together with the ^{Dasai (n)} ~~Dasai~~ (commonly

called Dashehra in India) is regarded as the national festival, just as the Indra Jatra and the Machhendra Jatra are regarded as their national festivals by the Newars. Though this celebration among the Newars and the non-Newars is not different with regard to its general pattern, there are two different configurations of celebrations as between these two communities. Such minute variations can be understood only when we take into account first the general pattern.

The general pattern of the celebration is represented by the Gorkhas. On the first day in every Nepalese house, the ceremony of Ghata Sthapna is performed. It is entirely a domestic observance confined to one's own household. On the 'Ghata Sthapna' day an emblem of Bhagwati is installed for a nine day worship. A dark room is assigned for the purpose and is known as 'Dasai-ghar'. An earthen pitcher is painted in white stripes to represent the Kalash. Over the Kalash, a handful of rice is kept in a dish and over it is mounted a symbol of Bhagwati. In the corner of the room, a mixture of barley and maize seeds are sown with a view to having yellow seedlings by the tenth day. The desired colour of such plants is caused by covering the seeds with a vessel. The deity on the Kalash is worshipped for all the nine days with the offerings of ducks, boiled

eggs, the mixture of flattened rice and parched rice which are together known as 'Samai-Bajee'. Besides all the arms and weapons in the house are also worshipped during the Navaratra. Animal sacrifices are made daily. The goats and buffaloes for such purposes are imported from the tarai. The eighth and the ninth nights are the special occasions for a greater number of sacrifices. Every day when a goat is sacrificed it has to be preceded by the sacrifice of a Kishamand (white pumpkin).

The day of Ashtami is a great occasion; for it is the day when the 'Phool-Pati' procession is taken out. Every one wears his best dress and goes to receive the Phoolpati which starts from an appointed place. A brahmin donned in yellow garment, carries the Phoolpati on his shoulders and awaits being received by the members of the procession. The Phoolpati consists of a plantain tree and a sugarcane trunk tied together, by which hangs an oblong basket wrapped in yellow cloth. The basket contains a pair of bel-fruits, some pieces of sugar cane, some flowers, a conch and a Damru. The procession as accompanied with music goes to receive the Phoolpati which is kept later beside the Dashehra deity. At midnight a goat or a buffalo is sacrificed, and the night is known as 'Kalratri'. The head of the animal,

when served, is kept by the side of the door with a piece of tail in its mouth. Again on the ninth day, popularly called, 'Naumi' or 'Navaratri' animal sacrifices are offered to the Bhagawati.

While the description just given conforms to the general pattern of the Navaratra celebration of the Gorkhas, there is a little variation in the royal celebration. The royal celebration involves the worship of the Kul-deity of the present ruler of Nepal who is a Gorkha. The notable feature of it is that its Phoolpati is brought every year on the seventh day of the Navaratra from the town of Gorkha, his original home. The Phoolpati having been brought to the Valley, the procession starts from the 'Rani Pokhari' Queen's tank on the eighth day. The occasion becomes a state occasion - and all the Government officials, even if they are Newars, have to be present in the procession. The bringing of Phool Pati from outside the Valley, while shows the more cultural attachment of the present ruling family with the town of Gorkha, the participation by the Newars in it indicates their cultural link in a non-Newar event.

Besides, the Gorkha part of the animal sacrifice representing the state is done on a huge scale in the historical quadrangle of Kot on the ninth morning. All the

regiment flags and arms are put up for display at that place (Photo 118). A great number of goats and buffaloes are sacrificed to the flags. Formerly every senior state-official had to provide with a buffalo and every junior employee with a goat to be killed in the Kot. Now this had been made incumbent only on the senior officials.

The tenth day is known as 'Dasai-teeka', the day of putting the 'teeka mark'. By this time the barley and maize seeds will have grown into big yellow plants which are uprooted and made the main item of 'teeka-ritual'. People go to the houses of their relatives to have the teeka put on their foreheads. Among the Gorkhas, it is the custom that every person junior in age should go to have the teeka from the hands of his seniors. A person failing to do so is regarded as having cut off his social relations. The teeka ceremony consists in getting applied to one's forehead a mixture of vermilion, rice and curd, and receiving a bunch of the yellow plants of barley. Then follows the feast. The festival of Dashehra thus comes to an end.

The Phoolpati and Ghata Sthapna objects are immersed in the afternoon into the sacred river. For this purpose, again a procession is formed which proceeds with the Phoolpati

towards the bank of the river. So far as the royal Phoolpati is concerned, a big procession is taken out in which all the government servants again participate, it terminates at the Rani Pokhari. The royal Kalash is taken back to Gorkha the same night.

The Navaratra and Dashehra celebrations by the Newars do not differ in their general framework from that of the Gorkhas. But there are marked differences in the details of rituals involved. The Phoolpati procession is not practised by the Newars. Besides, their celebration as a joint community participation is woven round the goddess Talleju. Throughout the Navaratra, and especially on the eighth and the ninth day, a lot of goats and buffaloes are sacrificed to her. The Newars are more attached to this side of the celebration, since the goddess Talleju is the Kul deity of the former Malla kings whom they identify as their own rulers. None of the non-Newar castes is associated with such worship and sacrifice at the Talleju's temple.

So far as the Newar domestic celebrations of the Navaratra and the Dashehra are concerned, these are restricted to the consanguineal relatives only. The main worship in Navaratra is done in the house of the eldest male member

among the Fukee families. But each individual family has also its own individual worship. To describe the Newar worship, the puja starts as usual with the ceremony of 'Ghata-Sthapna' which they call 'Nata Same'. This is followed by the worship of the Kul-deity in which all the family members participate. The worship continues till the Dashehra day.

The period of Navaratra in addition, is usually marked by the worship of Guheshwari, Bijeshwari and the Bajra Jogini at Sankhu. The objects of worship at home during the period include, in addition to the Dashehra deity, the Sukunda, the Anti, the Gaucha, the Pathi (the corn measuring pot), the 'Khaikuri' and weapons called Khadga. In addition, the professional tools and implements are also included. Each of such objects of worship is mounted on a heap of rice. In front of each of the deities, the pyramid shaped small structure made out of the paste of flattened rice is typical of the Newars. The worship is done by the head of the family and admission to the place is granted only to the members of the family. The worship is done without the assistance of a priest.

On the eighth, the ninth and the tenth day, the worship is done on a much more larger scale with the sacrifice

of goats and ducks. The eighth or the Ashtami day is especially noted for the 'Kuchhi Bhwe' feast, besides the worship involving animal sacrifice. All the family members sit together for the feast. It consists of a Kurua-ful of Bajee in addition to the usual feast items. This is also the day when the Sika Bhu ritual takes place. But it is confined to one's own family. If any consanguine fails to attend this feast, all social and ceremonial obligations cease to exist in relation to him.

The ninth day or 'Naumi' is characterised by another domestic feast called 'Syako-Tyako' when the 'Sika-Bhu' ritual takes place again. In both the feasts, i.e. on the eighth and the ninth day, married daughters are the most important invitees. But they are not given admission to the Dashehra room, since they do not belong to the same Dewali group.

On the tenth day, the main ritual consists, as among the Gorkhas, of applying the teeka. In the morning the final worship takes place. The details of the puja and of the 'teeka' ceremony in each individual household is exactly similar to what are being stated in the following lines. The heads of each of the collateral families having

finished their own respective Dashehra worship and 'teeka' ceremony, assemble at the house of the 'Thakali' to participate in the main worship. The Thakali in whose house the Puja is being conducted leads the Puja. All the members are then required to worship jointly by showering rice and flowers over the deities. This ceremony is known as 'Swan-Chhwaye-gu'. Then the next senior male among the participants is required to collect the offered flowers and the 'Jamra' in a brass vessel. This is called 'Swan-Kawa-Kayegu'. Next, the Thakali picks up each time an object of worship and hands it over to one of the male members in order of seniority. Each of them bows down before the Thakali to show respect. All these objects of worship and feast materials are carried up to the top-floor where the feast is to take place.

Before the feast the teeka ceremony takes place. The red and white cloth pieces, after offering to the 'Dashehra' deity, are cut longitudinally and given to each of the members to tie round his or her neck. The Thakali then applies a teeka mark made of a mixture of rice, curd and vermilion on the foreheads of the members after which he presents to each of them a bunch of the yellow barley seedlings. They all in turn bow down before him.

There is some marked difference between the teeka ceremony of the Newars of the Gorkhas. In the Newar ceremony it is only the Thakali or the head of the family who puts teeka on the foreheads of the members whereas among the Gorkhas every junior member must have the teeka applied by all his senior relatives - both consanguineal and affineal ones. Besides, in a Newar type of Dashehra celebration, those consanguineal relatives who are not the members of the household have to be invited. The day is one of such special occasions when married daughters are called for. The Gorkhas, on the other hand, do not have such a custom. In their case, Dashehra is the only occasion when the relatives are expected to call at the houses of their seniors without invitation.

An additional feature of the celebration of the Newars is the display of 'Khadga'. Each male members of the family holds a Khadga in his hands and comes out of the room brandising it and shaking themselves, as if they were under trance. They are believed to be possessed for the time being with the spirit of Kali or Bhadrakali. They move about in the house and retire into the worship room.

Apart from these marked variations, the mode of animal sacrifice is also somewhat different at the Talleju

temple from that adopted at the Kot court-yard. In a Newar mode of sacrifice the head of the animal is not severed at one stroke. The animal's legs are tied and a wound is inflicted on its neck so as to allow streams of blood to gush forth. Only then is the animal's head severed. The following morning, a fair takes place at the main temple of Talleju (Photo 80). Thousands of devotees, mostly Newars, come there to worship the goddess. There they first worship the trident of Talleju and circumambulate the temple three times before they approach the deity.

The Dashehbra day is further marked by a number of Khadga Jatras when the persons personating Bhadra Kali, Bhairava, Kumari, Ganesh, Bharahi etc., go about in a procession with swords in their hands. This is called 'Pa-ya' (Photo 120). These processions are too many and mostly participated in by the Gathoo and Jyapoo castes.

Soon after the end of the Dashehbra, two important festivals follow in Kathmandu on the twelfth of the same month. These are the Ganesh Jatra and the Anna Purna Jatra. The last mentioned festival is connected with the agricultural life of the people. The deity whose temple stands in the 'Bhotaihiy' tole in Kathmandu town, as we have stated

elsewhere is represented not by an idol of the goddess but by the paddy measuring pot, Pathi. The fag end of Ashwin brings to the Newars the first harvest of paddy and, therefore, the festival of Annapurna has obviously its great function. In other places where there is no such temple of such a deity, the storing of harvest is celebrated by propitiating the local Ganesh. It is also the occasion for the eating of the 'yo-marhi' cakes and offer the same to Bunga Deya.

We now note here the festival of 'Bhoota-Mali-Boye-Ke-gu'. With the commencement of Ashwin the flying of kites starts and it lasts for the whole month. It is equally popular among the Gorkhas. At present, however, the significant part is lost to the past, retaining thus, only the recreational part of it. It has been stated that 'Kite-flying' is one of the aids to the fathers to depart to their abode and be with the sun in its northern course.¹ The Newars have their own interpretation regarding this. According to them, it signifies an effort on the part of Manjusri's teacher to establish contact with some person by name, Bharabharaju who was then observing his penance in the Himalayas. Bharabharaju then flew to China like a kite. Kite flying, in addition, is believed to bring prosperity upon the family.

1. Ghurye, G.S. - Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture, 1955, p. 65.

During the month of Kartik, the festival of 'Akash-Deep' is one of the popular festivals in the Valley for all the Hindus. It commences from the full-moon day and lasts upto the fifteenth of the dark half of Margsir, and known as 'Ala-Mata' among the Newars (Photo 121). Dr. G.S.Ghurye who refers to it as a feature of the Indo-Aryan culture says that its original purpose was to enable the 'fathers' who had returned from their earthly homes to reach their heavenly abode,² although its scriptural meaning was to please Lord Vishnu.³ So far as the Newars are concerned this festival of raising high the sky lamp is the feature of the Shrestha and Chhatharia Newars only. The majority of them, especially the Jyapoos, do not observe this festival. The Manandhar caste has, however, adopted it recently under the influence of Hinduism. In the town of Kathmandu such sky-lamp is put in two ways. It is either erected on the ground close to the front wall of the house, the lamp just reaching the window; or on the terrace. In contrast to the Newars, the Gorkhas put up such sky lamps near the Tulsi plant. It is an additional feature with them to put up 'Patal'-lamp side by side. This Patal-lamp represents the lamp in the world below the earth. It is done by digging a small ditch just at the base of the pole of the sky-lamp and placing a lamp into it.

2. Ibid, p. 64.

3. Ibid.

Along with the festival of Ala-mata, there is another festival which appears to be a counterpart of the sky-lamp, and it finds its popularity among the Jyapoos. It is known as 'Yo(n)-Si-Mata'. A big wooden pillar is erected during the lunar month of Kartik. Every night a lamp is lighted on its top. It is generally put up at a cross road, but preferably in front of a temple. The common belief centred round this observance is that it enables the soul of the dead to go to heaven just as king Harishchandra was enabled to go to heaven by Indra. Yo(n)-Si-Mata is, however, falling into disuse. Besides, Kartik month is equally sacred to the Buddhists. A red-cloth known as 'Jhalar' is put up over every Chaitya during this month.

The last four days of the dark half of Kartik are also important. The first of these days is marked by the festival of Kisi-Puja or elephant worship. It is also the day when Ganesh is worshipped. The specific use of the term 'Kisi' (elephant) is suggestive of those old days when the Ganesh had perhaps not dropped its more primitive form. Elephant is, however, rare in the Valley. It is, therefore, substituted by the worship of Ganesh. The thirteenth of the dark half of Kartik is dedicated to the worship of crow. It is not an exclusive feature of the Newars, but all the

Nepalese worship and observe it on this day. The fourteenth of the same half of the month is dedicated to the worship of dogs (Photo 122) as described elsewhere. The last day of the dark half of the month is the last day of the Newar year. It is also the day marked by the worship of cow in the morning and goddess Laximi in the night. It is a feature common to all the inhabitants of the Valley. It is more popularly known in India as Diwali. In every household the goddess Laximi is worshipped. An additional feature of this celebration is the placing of lamps on the building for illumination purpose. Thus the round of the year having been completed, the first of the bright half of Kartik heralds the New Year as described in the beginning of the present Chapter.

We have noticed that each of the Newar social and religious event is accompanied by some kind of feast. Thus their feasts are numerous so much so that we can fairly say that a good part of the Newar's life is lived in the feasts and festivals.

These feasts mainly fall into three categories: Saga(n), Samai and Bhoj, according to the ceremonial significance involved in them. We need not describe their details as these have been already dealt with as and when they occur.

We need describe here only the important aspects of them from the point of view of its significance. The Saga(n) consists of two types - Khe(n), Sanga(n) and Dhau Sanga(n). The first type includes boiled 'eggs', 'vada', of black-pulse, dried fish and liquor or rice beer. It takes its name after the boiled egg. Khe(n) in Newari language means an egg and Saga(n) is the Newari abbreviation of the term Sagun which implies auspiciousness. Therefore, the offering of Sagan is the indication of bestowing upon the individual a good future. The other type of Sagan is called Dhau Sagan^{and} does not include liquor and egg. Dhau means curd and, therefore, the non-vegetarian items are replaced with curd whenever it is necessary. The eating of Saga(n) is not only connected with the ceremonies but also with all the social events; Whenever a person has to be duly shown regard or respect. Sanga(n) is presented to him. It is always presented by the chief lady of the house. At times the lady may be the Thakali Naki of the clan and sometimes, of the joint family or from one's own individual family.

Consistent with the Newar's system of the age-gradations, the Sanga(n) is always presented to the individual concerned in the order of his or her age-seniority. While accepting the Saga(n), the person

concerned holds the egg, 'Bara' (Vada) and fried fishes in his right hand while in the left hand a cup for liquor. The Thakali Naki offers the Saga(n) and three times touches the shoulder and knee-joints and the head of the person and her own head as a mark of respect, in case the person is elder to her and of affection, in case the person is junior to her. All the persons junior to her has to bow down before her. The Thakali Naki then proceeds to pour the liquor. The person concerned eats a little of the items in his right hand three times and each time he slips some liquor from the cup in his left. The women have to hold the items of Saga(n) in the reverse order. In the left hand they hold the eggs etc., and in the right, the cup of liquor.

Samai is a light ritual break fast which precedes the feast or some religious ceremony. It has to be done after the Saga(n) offering. It consists of flattened rice and all the articles of food necessary for the usual feast.

The principal type of feast is the Bhoj. The important point to note about the Newar feast is the fact that the chief food is always flattened rice, buffalo's meat, aila (liquor) and tho(n) (rice-beer). Unlike the people in India or the other Nepalese, 'puries' or boiled

rice is replaced by 'Bajee'. The details of the food items required for the feast may be referred to in the chapter on ceremonies and on marriage and so in chapter II where the food habit has been dealt with. The sitting arrangements in the feast follows the usual order of age seniority and the order of items of food to be served is also fixed. Especially in the ceremonial feasts the eight senior elders of the group have to be respected. No body can start eating unless they start. After the feast is over, a member of the group has to attend to the washing of the hands of the guests over a big copper vessel. He has also to collect the left-overs in the same vessel and throw them at the Chhwasa.

From the point of view of persons participating in the feasts, the latter can be structured into various categories. Firstly comes the domestic feasts in which only the members of the individual family participate; secondly comes the feast in which only the 'Fukee' members can participate. Such feasts are usually held in connection with the domestic ceremonies connected with the social life of an individual. In all these ceremonial and domestic feasts married daughters are invariably invited. So far as other non-Fukee-Fukee members are concerned it is not ceremonially necessary to invite them. In feasts concerning

pollution removal ceremonies such as birth, Bara, marriage and death, each 'Fukee' family has to be represented and a non-Fukee has no function in it at all.

The feast connected with the Dewali worship is a special ceremonial feast in which only the members of the clan can participate. One of the most important part of this feast is, as we have noted, the ceremony of Sikha Bhu, the eating of the different parts of the sacrificed animal by the eight senior elders of the Dewali group.

Besides, the above feasts there are a number of others associated with the annual celebration of the Guthis. While many of them are open to Fukee families only, there are others which are restricted to the caste members, as for example the feasts connected with the Sana Guthi and its sub-Guthis. Still there are other feasts which are open even to non-caste members. But in these feasts the food items such as the 'Taha-Khala' and the vegetables containing gravy are not served as these are liable to be polluted by the touch of a non-caste member. While the feasts connected with the individual family, clan and kindred perpetuate the solidarity of the group on levels of kinship, the inter-caste

feasts bring together the different castes. In such a feast the seat of the Thakali goes, curiously enough, at times, to a person of low caste. As for example in Kirtipur, during one of the annual festivals of that region, it is the person of the Pore caste (untouchable caste) who occupies the position as the head of the feast. He is regarded as the Thakali of the whole group. But care is taken not to allow the food to be touched by him.

The feasts are again ordered according to the number of invitees. There are three kinds of invitations relating to Newar feasts. Firstly comes 'Chhama'. In Chhama feast only one person from each family can participate; the second type of the feast is called 'Macha-chhi' in which only the husband, wife and their children from each family can participate; and finally comes the 'Bhochhi'. In this type of feast, all the members of the household have to participate. Even a newly born child must be given its share of feast. The feast connected with the Sana-Guthi and Dewali Guthi particularly fall under this category. In all these feasts participation is compulsory. If a member or individual fails to attend he has to pay a nominal fine which does not exceed a few coin.

The financial aspect of the feasts connected with the various Guthis is met from the incomes of the Guthi property. If the expenditure is more than the income, the deficit amount is equally distributed spread over the heads of the family.

The feasts of the Newars may be looked yet from the two different stand points - religious and social. So far as the religious point of view is concerned, the feasts aim at many objectives: they remove ceremonial uncleanness; offer propitiation to the gods; and act as magico-religious formulae to ward off the evil influence of the unknown powers. Such objectives appear to be specially served by the feasts held during the Macha-Bu-Benke, Barha, death and the annual festivals of the Bhairava and Bhairavi. The religious aspect of these feasts is to protect the human beings from the calamity and to be for some time in communion with the gods.

The other side of these feasts - the social one - is to enforce a better integration of the group. Feasts have the objective of perpetuating the solidarity of the 'Fukee' group. Feast is the medium through which a person's membership to a group, or his exclusion from it, is expressed.

In other words ex-communication of a person means the denial to him of his feast-rights. It is needless to elaborate on this point since we have seen as to how much a person or his family is depended on the help and cooperation of his Fukee members without which the world will mean to him a place of great misery.



107. At Machhendra Jatra: The chariot of Machhendra. 108. At Buddha Jayanti: Buddha is being drawn in a procession. 109. Atte Gathe Muga or Gathe Mangal festival: The Pore going round the streets for alms. 110. The effigy of the demon, Ghanta-Karan erected in one of the toles.



111. Lakha-Chaitya-Ha-Wane-gu: The Chaityas being taken to the river. 112. The festival of Gai Jatra: A pair of cow-mask wearers 113. The cow procession on the move. 114. Bagh Bhairava Jatra: This is the 'khat' in which the tiger god is carried in procession.



115. Vanra Jatra: A Vanra priest officiating in the worship of Lokeshwar Buddha at a stop before he receives the alms. 116. Vanra Jatra: The Phu-Bare seen here in his traditional costume. 117. Indra-Dwajothanam: The linga is being erected in Kathmandu.



118

The Linga after erection

119

The idol of Indra during the Indra Jatra.



120

A closer view of the Indra's idol. The threads symbolise the chains.





121. Kumari Jatra: The chariot of Kumari is seen being drawn.
 122. The Lakhe in action during the Indra Jatra. 123. The Akash
 Bhairava (in the rear) and his two ganas 'Sava-Bhaktus' dancing on
 the street.



124

The Devi dancer from
Kathmandu during Indra
Jatra.

125

The Mahakali dancers
from Bhatgaon during
Indra Jatra.



126

The ritual of Mata-Beu-
Wane-gu: Women are seen
placing the earthen lamp
on the street in memory
of the deceased souls.





127

The ritual of Bahu-Mata:
The Manandhars of Kathmandu
take out a lighted pyre in
memory of the deceased souls.

128

Buffaloe and goat sacrifice
to the flags and arms at
the Kot courtyard.



129

The Dhuniya-Bunjya pole.



130. Pa-Ya procession. 131. The Alamata (sky lamp).
132. Dog worship.

EPILOGUE

Now that we have given a fairly good account of the Newars, we intend here recapitulating some of the salient features that mark off their society. We have seen that though their numbers are less as compared with the Gorkhas, the Newars are a culturally dominant community. Their high material culture and the existence among them of specialised artisan groups enable them to draw dependence in these matters from all the other ethnic groups of Nepal.

Racially the Newars reveal themselves as a complex of many elements. That the earliest inhabitants of India are responsible for their racial as well as cultural substratum may not be ruled out. This is fairly suggested by the analysis of their culture as well as some physical traits noticeable among some of the lower caste Newars. In addition, despite their pronounced mongoloid traits, the whole complex of traits reveal their closer affinities with the people as distantly placed as south-west India. The traditions of migrations among them also lend support to such a view. This is further strengthened by the fact that many of the cultural traits of the Newars are found diffused in the entire territory where the western mesati-cephals predominate.

Protected in the mountain fastness of the Valley of Kathmandu, the ancestors of the present Newars had evolved from a very early time a culture which represents a synthesis of traits incorporated from the different sources. The culture, though many of its traits are also to be found among the Gorkhas, is oriented in a different direction which emphasises peacefulness, toleration, compromise and the cultivation of artistic sense. The absence of express physical aggression in them has invited for themselves from the Gorkhas such epithets as 'coward' and 'timid'. It is to be noted that when two cultural groups meet - one as the conqueror and the other as the conquered, the latter normally suffers from some handicaps. But the Newars have shown the strength of their culture in as much as they have outlived their cultural conquest by the dominant group. At the same time, instead of blindly imitating other cultures, they have assimilated traits from them. On the other hand they have in a way influenced the cultural tradition of Nepal. Such strength of their culture can result only from the tight group control over the individual. The complete integration of the community-members is sought through a large net-work of institutions, which is, however, not to be found among the other ethnic groups of Nepal. The scope for breaking away from the norms

of the society is limited. An aberrant course may be taken up by an individual but only at the cost of his social isolation which will make his life miserable and his personality debased. The lack of any concerted action to effect change in the traditional norms is in evidence.

The social organisation of the Newars is unique in the sense that it maintains two different wings of the Buddhist and Hindu groups. Mutual toleration and respect between the two religious groups are amply reflected in their behaviours. But the friendly attitude towards each other is not so much due to the conscious realisation of the religious truth as to the common body of deities which these religions share between themselves. The Newar religion is predominantly motivated by the desire for material gains. It is not the other world which matters so much as this world. The religion is overwhelmingly characterised by the lower aspects of pantheon. The foundation of religion is fear and strong appetite for earthly pursuits. The divinities of practical importance are the Ajimas (various forms of mother-goddesses of lower order), Bhairavas, Ganesh, Bhimsen and a host of malignant spirits. Another remarkable feature of the religious

complex of the Newars is the female role given to some of the male deities at certain religious rites. Mother worship is carried to the extreme by worshipping the living human female in the form of the Kumari. All this may suggest the probability of matrilineal organisation among them.

Religion is further characterised by the functional relation of the castes. The grip of the caste in Newar culture is so strong that even the Buddhist section is characterised by it. Caste is based on the occupational groupings. Formerly, each caste was associated with certain types of hereditary functions - one relating to the religious event and another to the community. Such a functional interdependence of the double order bespeaks the well-knit internal integration of the Newar community. Though the secular occupations associated with the castes are now much in flux, those of religious character still endure.

Caste is again characterised by the merging of the different sub-castes into a large whole consequent on the disappearance of their respective hereditary occupations. On the other hand different status-groups have come to merge themselves into an endogamous group. This is mainly due to the loss of original status as a result of the alliance

with the women of the lower status-group. The loss of original status comes about according to the prevailing custom of relegating the child born of such alliance to the status group of its mother. This also explains the steady numerical decline of the higher castes.

While caste sets the outer limit of marriage beyond which a person is not permitted to marry, it is not necessarily a group within which complete commensality prevails. From the point of view of food, only the 'Bhaj' type of inter-dining is permitted. In matters of Kachcha food interdining is confined to the circle of the relatives only.

Hypergamous sentiment rules to that extent that aberrant sexual unions are without punitive consequences. At the same time anti-hypergamous union - the pratiloma marriage of the Hindu law books-is possible. But the woman loses her parental caste. Caste segregation is manifested through the institutions of Sana Guthi and Dewali Guthi which impose restrictions on inter-dining during the ceremonial feasts.

It is, therefore, not possible to say that the caste is losing its hold among the Newars. There is no

sign of a notable change in the traditional sentiment for caste. Evidence have no doubt come to light when a few educated Newars have contracted inter-caste alliances. But these cases do not meet with the approval of the society and are not only much looked down upon by the caste-elders but also the women and their children are debarred from the paternal caste-privileges.

Marriage is in essence a civil contract and the traditional value in this respect prevails. The mock-marriage, 'Yihee' of the Newar girl with the emblem of god Narain is not different in its objective from the 'Tali-kettu-kalyanam' of a Nair girl. The mock-marriage gives the Newar girl the justification for divorce in her later life. Though divorce and remarriage are not favoured in practice by the high caste Newars under the force of alien tradition, they are still recognised by the society. The consensus of opinion is not in favour of its abolition. Thus the status of a woman is not affected by her remarriage. We have seen that the kinship terms amply bear testimony to the existence of polyandry among the Newars in the past.

A Newar marriage is characterised by the customary belief that the parents should not bother about the search

for a mater for their daughters. The customs of 'Gue-bi-ye-gu', and 'Lakha-bi-ye-gu' clearly suggest the payment of bride-price. The sharing of the 'Lakha' by the relatives of the bride's parents may suggest the group-ownership of women. In practice, however, such a feature bespeaks the strong bond existing among the kins through mutual rights and obligations.

The insignificant role of the bridegroom in a Newar marriage may be noted. He does not emerge on the scene till the bride enters her family of orientation. Till such period it is the 'Thakali' of the bridegroom's consanguineal group or his father who is the centre of attraction. We may say that either the 'Thakali' or the father of the bridegroom heads the marriage-procession and brings the bride home, signifying her handing over to the bridegroom. It is, however, to be noted that in some cases the bridegrooms accompany the marriage-processions. But it is merely a novelty without any ceremonial significance.

The customary practice recognised by the society under which a boy can elope with a girl is quite remarkable inasmuch as the bond thus created is considered on a par

with the traditional marriage. The change in the Newar marriage custom, if at all it is to be seen, is in a different direction from the Gorkhas. They are favouring 'Swayamvara' marriage and they do not seem to be at all influenced by the Hindu marriage rites followed by the Gorkhas. This is a trend which is in striking contrast to the direction of change in the social customs of the non-Brahmanic castes in India. In India such castes are often found to imitate the customs and manners followed by the higher castes with a view to rising in the social scale. But the Newars do not appear to favour such imitation - not at least in their marriage customs.

The strong preference for territorial endogamy is a further feature of the Newars. This feature seems to be closely related to the variety of roles that a married woman has to fulfil in her family of birth. Such roles presuppose a close physical proximity between a woman's family of orientation and her family of birth. A child generally spends much of its time in its maternal uncle's house. It is approached with unusual reverence by the members of its maternal uncle's family. The child is allowed to enjoy much liberty in their home. All these show that though a Newar woman on marriage breaks her

residential continuity with her parents' family, she, nevertheless, too frequently comes to live in her parents' home.

A traditional Newar family is rendered typical by its unusual numerical strength as well as the range of relationship it covers. We find that the feature of joint family being of large size is still favoured by the Newars. In this matter the Newar counterpart can be found in the Tharus. Though the joint family consisting of more than fifty members is now not so common, yet families consisting of 20 to 30 members are a common feature. The tendency of joint family is seen to be stronger among the economically better-off classes than among the poor. Again the large-sized joint family is more favoured by the urban Newars than the agricultural Newars. This is perhaps again due to the low economic condition of the peasants. From the point of view of relationship the usual joint family consists generally of three generations - married brothers, their married and unmarried sons and married or unmarried grand children. The divorced daughter and her minor children are also the members of the family.

In a Newar family the gradation of age and generation is strictly adhered to in matters of mutual behaviour and

privileges. Newar housewives are evaluated of their worth in terms of their capacity for hard work. This is especially significant when we take into account the fact that the employment of domestic servants and cooks are not so much favoured by the traditional outlook. When the strength of the household is, say above twenty, the burden of cooking, laundry-work and other ancillary duties lead to the drudgery of the housewives. The trend of higher education among the women has brought about a conflict-situation.

The common causes for the break of the joint family are unwieldiness of the household, conflict among the housewives, and the inadaptability of the housewives to the traditional value set upon them by the mothers-in-law. In a Newar family the mother-in-law's authority is so absolute that a fairly large proportion of divorces seem to be the result of intervention, of this relative.

The Newar society is notable for numerous 'Guthi' institutions which grant membership to the individual household-groups. These 'Guthis' divide the Newars horizontally into a number of groups for achieving the different objectives. Of these, the caste-'Guthis' and the 'Fukee-Guthis' are most

effective for group-control. The 'Dewali Guthi', the main 'Fukee Guthi', is the real means of upholding the norms of the society. This feature bespeaks the well-knit functioning of the clan system within the frame-work of caste.

The entire net work of social relations among the Newar community is kept strong through the feasts and festivals under the various Guthis. These feasts and festivals are too many. They are not so much religious as social. It is through the participation in these feasts that a Newar individual enjoys the protection of the society. Solidarity is sought to be maintained through these feasts and festivals on the four different levels - family, Fukee, caste and community. On the other hand the feasts and festivals not only effect the integration of the different living individuals, but also act as a bridge between the living and the dead. In the Newar social organisation, the living and the dead both go to make the group.

But these feasts and festivals involve expenditure on a lavish scale. From the economic view point such events are becoming a burden on the community. The introduction of the products of modern civilization has resulted in the rise of new material needs of the Newars. And this can not be

met without adversely affecting the expenses on the traditional items. The extent to which these feasts and festivals undergo changes reflects in the new relationship between the individual and the group. Changes in these feasts and festivals may be the future index of the changes in the familial organisation of the Newars.

Thus the sum total of Newar culture-traits goes to make such an institutional complex that there is complete integration of the individual. The rigidity is too orthodox and the ceremonials are elaborate and rich. Aberrant individuals find themselves completely rooted out of the rich life, offered by the society. However, the traditional features now face many challenging factors that have recently come to exist. What will be the direction of the change in the traditional values of the Newars is difficult to say at present.

The inauguration of democracy has taken away a number of social and civil handicaps under which the Newars formerly suffered. Now they are no more a conquered people. They constitute an influential section of the Nepalese community. The new political set-up and the sudden opening

of the Valley to the outsiders, have altered the old existing ethnic relationship. Combined with this the increase in modern education is bringing in new ideas which are likely to be in conflict with the traditional value. Another factor, which impinges on the Newar life is the introduction of radios and cinemas. Till 1950, these opportunities were the monopoly of the few only and were controlled by the Rana oligarchy. At present there are six cinema houses - four in Kathmandu and one each in Bhatgaon and Patan. Radio is a very common feature. Newspapers have also sprung up. These various means of dissemination of news and ideas were rare in the past. The younger generation is being attracted towards the new ways of life. Whatever is exciting is more appealing to the young people of the Valley. On the other hand the network of the Newar institutional complex demands obedience from the younger generation. Therefore, there exists a conflict-situation.

The role expected by the traditional norms is in direct conflict with the aspiration of the younger people for greater individualism. This is particularly noticeable in relation to women. As the married Newar women have to bear the burden of household duties under the strict surveillance of their mothers-in-law whose authority is

great, they are finding difficulty, if educated, to compromise their freedom. In many other matters, as in this, there arises a conflict between the two sets of values. Perhaps it is due to such value-conflicts that crimes have come to be in evidence. During the writer's sojourn in Kathmandu there were two stabbing cases, one of them being fatal. It was understood that the people had not come to know before such acts of stabbings. These constituted a new feature among the Newars.

Another noticeable trend is that which concerns the numerical proportion of Newars in the Valley. Writing on the 'Flural Societies in Sikkim', ^{Nakane} Nani Chie has pointed out that as a result of the 'polygamous' habit of the Nepalese and polyandry among the Lepchas of Sikkim the rate of increase in population is much higher among the Nepalese than among the natives.¹ This is also a feature in Nepal. Of the mongoloid tribes some of them are polyandrous and others monogamous, while the Gorkhas are polygamous. Therefore, the rate of increase of the population is higher among the Gorkhas than that of the mongoloid groups. In relation to Newars also, the Gorkhas have a higher rate of increase of population, since we have found that the majority of the

1. The Japanese Journal of Ethnology, Vol.22, Nos.1-2, p. 16.

Newars practice monogamy. This feature may in course of time affect the numerical proportion of the Newars in the Valley. Migration of the people into the Valley is an additional factor contributing to such a trend.

The increasing trend of population in the Valley ---- creates a problem of land for housing and land for agriculture. The Valley has already the highest density and the demand for housing can be met only by encroachment on the agricultural land. This is likely to tell upon the Newar peasants who, however, do not like to settle down outside the Valley.

For the increasing population, the sources of employment are only the Government service and trade beside agriculture as there is no industry in the Valley. But these available avenues of employment are being stoutly competed by the people from all the parts of Nepal, a feature which was not so pronounced in the past. In the sphere of trade, keen competition comes from ^{the} Marwaris who steal a march over the local Newar traders by virtue of their larger capital resources and greater amount of business-skill. On the other hand the Newar artisans are slowly abandoning their hereditary occupations in favour of

more gainful employments. There is, therefore, a great need to preserve their craft-skill which had made them a widely famed people.

Although the emergence of political parties has given rise to a new type of solidarity which cuts across the loyalty to one's own ethnic group, it is yet not so strong enough as to counteract the group-nationality. Particularly the values possessed by the Gorkhas and the Newars are so much in contradiction that the political parties as a single factor is unable to break the mutual segregation. Such segregation is also to be found among the other ethnic groups of Nepal. Each group is a separate world and loyalty to one's own group is stronger than the loyalty to the inter-community solidarity.

APPENDIX AKINSHIP TERMSPrimaries

Husband	:	Bhata
Wife	:	Kala or Misa
Father	:	Dwa or Abu
Mother	:	Ma or Muma
Son	:	Kaye
Daughter	:	Mhaye
Brother	:	Daju or Jetha Ara (E) Kija or Ara (Y)
Sister	:	Tata (E) Kehe(n) (Y)

Lineal Ascendants

Father's Father	:	Aja or Bajya
Father's Mother	:	Aji or Bajai
Father's Father's Father	:	Tapa-Aja or Tapa-Bajya
Father's Father's Father's Wife	:	Tapa-Aji or Tapa-Bajai
Father's Father's	:	Ghai(n)-Ghai(n)-Bajya or
Father's Father	:	\ Ghai(n)-Ghai(n)-Aja
Father's Father's	:	Ghai(n)-Ghai(n)-Bajai or
Father's Father's	:	Ghai(n)-Ghai(n)-Aji.
Wife	:	

N.B.:- E = if elder;
Y = if younger.

Descendants through the Son

Son's Son	:	Chhai
Son's Daughter	:	Chhai
Son's Son's Son	:	Chhwi
Son's Son's Daughter	:	Chhwi
Son's Daughter's Son	:	Chhwi
Son's Daughter's Daughter	:	Chhwi
Son's Son's Son's Son	:	Wie
Son's Son's Son's Son's Son	:	Kwi

Descendants Through the Daughter

Daughter's Son	:	Chhai
Daughter's Daughter	:	Chhai
Daughter's Son's Son	:	Chhwi
Daughter's Son's Daughter:		Chhwi
Daughter's Daughter's Son:		Chhwi
Daughter's Daughter's Daughter	:	Chhwi

Collaterals Through the Father

Father's Brother	:	Tari-Bwa(E), Chiri-Bwa(Y)
Father's Brother's Son	:	Daju (E), Kija(Y)
Father's Brother's Daughter	:	Tata(E), Khe(n) (Y)

N.B.:— E = if elder;
Y = if younger.

Father's Sister	:	Neeni
Father's Sister's Son	:	Daju (E), Keh(n) (Y)
Father's Sister's Daughter	:	Tata (E), Kehe(n) (Y)

Collaterals Through the Mother

Mother's Brother	:	Faju
Mother's Brother's Son	:	Daju (E), Kija (Y)
Mother's Brother's Daughter	:	Tata (E), Keh(n) (Y)
Mother's Sister	:	Tari-ma or Tari-Neeni (E) Chiri-Ma or Ta-ma (Y)
Mother's Sister's Son	:	Daju (E), Kija (Y)
Mother's Sister's Daughter	:	Tata (E), Keh(n) (Y)
Mother's Father	:	Aja or Bajya
Mother's Mother	:	Aji or Bajai
Mother's Father's Father	:	Tapa-Aja
Mother's Father's Mother	:	Tapa-Aji

Collaterals Through the Brother

Brother's Son (M.S.)	:	Kaye-Cha
Brother's Daughter (M.S.):		Mhaya-Cha
Brother's Son (W.S.)	:	Bhinja
Brother's Daughter (W.S.):		Bhinja

Note: E. = Elder; Y = Younger.
M.S. = Man Speaking; W.S. = Woman Speaking

Collaterals Through the Sister

Sister's Son (M.S.) : Bhincha
 Sister's Daughter (M.S.) : Bhincha
 Sister's Son (W.S.) : Kaye-cha
 Sister's Daughter (W.S.) : Mhya-cha

Affines Through the Father

Father's Brother's Wife : Tari-ma (E), Chiri-ma (Y)
 Father's Sister's
 husband : Jicha-Paju

Affines Through the Mother

Mother's Brother's Wife : Male-ju
 Mother's Sister's Husband: Tari-Bwa (E), Chiri-Bwa (Y)

Affines Through the Son

Son's Wife : Bhau
 Son's Son's Wife : Chhai-Bhau

Affines Through the Daughter

Daughter's Husband : Jila Ja(n)
 Daughter's Daughter's
 Husband : Chhai-Jila-Ja(n)

N.B.:- M.S. = Man Speaking; W.S. = Woman Speaking
 E = Elder; Y = Younger.

Affines Through the Brother

Brother's Wife (M.S.)	:	Tata-ju (E), Bhau (Y)
Brother's Wife (W.S.)	:	Tata-ju (E), Bhau (Y)
Brother's Son's Wife	:	Bhau-Macha
Brother's Daughter's Husband	:	Jila-Ja(n) or Jicha-Bhaju

Affines Through the Sister

Sister's Husband (M.S.)	:	Jicha-Daju (E); Jicha-Bhaju (Y)
Sister's Husband (W.S.)	:	-- do -- -- do --

Affines Through the Wife

Wife's Father	:	Sasa-Bwa or Sasa-Bau
Wife's Mother	:	Sasa-Ma or Sasa-Maju
Wife's Brother	:	Sasa-Daju (E), Sasa-Kija (Y)
Wife's Brother's Wife	:	
Wife's Brother's Son	:	Sasa-Bhinja
Wife's Brother's Daughter	:	Sasa-Bhinja
Wife's sister	:	Sasa-Tata-ju (E), Sasa-Kehe(n) (Y)
Wife's Sister's Husband	:	Sasa-Daju (E), Sasa-Kija (Y)
Wife's Sister's Son	:	Sasa-Kaye-cha
Wife's Sister's Daughter	:	Sasa-Mhya-cha

N.B.:— M.S. = Man Speaking; W.S. = Woman Speaking
E = Elder; Y = Younger.

Affines Through the Husband

Husband's Father's Brother	:	Tari-Baju (E), Kaka-Baju (Y)
Husband's Father's Brother's Wife	:	Tarima-ju (E), Chiri-Maju (Y)
Husband's Father	:	Ba-ju
Husband's Mother	:	Ma-ju
Husband's Brother	:	Dara-Bhata (E), Kija Bhata (Y)
Husband's Brother's Wife	:	Pi-Bhata or Pili (E), Bhali-Macha or Maili (Y)
Husband's Brother's Son	:	Kaye-cha
Husband's Brother's Daughter	:	Moya-cha
Husband's Sister	:	Ta-Bhata or Sasa-Tataju (E) Kehe(n)-Bhata (Y)
Husband's Sister's Husband	:	Jicha Daju (E), Jila-Ja (Y)
Husband's Sister's Son	:	Bhinja
Husband's Sister's Daughter	:	Bhinja
Husband's Wife (other than Speaker)	:	Nheya-thu (E), Lithu (Y)
Step Mother	:	Chama-ju

N.B.:- E = Elder; Y = Younger.

STATEMENT I-B

VALLEY OF KATHMANDU

Population Distribution by mother-tongue[@]

LANGUAGES	All Nepal		Kathmandu			
	Total of Population	Percent-age	Town Area		Suburb	
			No. of Persons	Percent-age	No. of persons	Percent-ages
Nepali	161,330	39.26	29,791	28.32	50,938	57.67
Newari	225,819	54.96	71,915	68.44	27,401	30.80
Tamang	19,048	4.64	969	0.92	9,418	10.66
Gurung	505	0.12	198	0.19	261	0.29
Magar	810	0.19	126	0.18	116	0.13
Rai & Limbu	115	0.03	23	0.02	18	0.02
Indians & Europeans*2,143		0.53	1,844	1.76	132	0.14
Sunwar	1	-	1	-	-	-
Tharu	3	-	2	-	1	-
Bhote-Lama	396	0.10	143	0.14	225	0.25
Sherpa	14	.00	12	0.01	2	-
Chepang	1	.00	1	.00	-	-
Danuwar	318	0.08	-	-	-	-
Unspecified	368	0.09	28	0.03	23	0.02
Total	410,871	100.00	105,123	100.00	88,535	100.00

[@] Based on the 'Census of Nepal, 1982/54', Kathmandu, 1955.

*Includes 8 Europeans

Bhaktapore				Patan			
Town Area		Suburb		Town Area		Suburb	
No. of Persons	Percent-age	No. of persons	Percent-age	No. of persons	Percent-age	No. of persons	Percent-age
607	1.91	27,494	53.59	8,154	19.82	44,346	47.99
31,404	97.74	21,190	41.30	32,435	78.44	41,474	44.81
17	0.05	2,623	5.11	174	0.42	5,847	6.42
4	0.01	1	-	33	0.07	8	-
1	-	30	0.05	389	0.94	78	0.08
1	-	-	-	30	0.07	43	0.04
65	0.20	-	-	92	0.22	10*	0.01
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	0.02	-	-	16	0.03	6	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	318	0.34
13	0.04	4	-	11	0.02	289	0.31
32,118	100.00	51,342	100.00	41,334	100.00	92,419	100.00

APPENDIX "C"GLOSSARY

- Abhiras** : The second horde of the cow-herd people who came to the Valley of Kathmandu in the mythical period.
- Achaju** : A sub-caste of the Chhatnaria Newars. It is partly a priestly class; said to be degraded Brammins.
- Achar** : Same as Achaju.
- Acoke Vinayak** : A Ganesh in Kathmandu town.
- Adi-Buddha** : The supreme God of the Buddhist-Newars. He is regarded as the Self-Existent one, pervading the Universe. He is also called Swayambhu and is always worshipped in the form of a flame.
- Agama Deya** : A secret deity of the Newars in whose worship only such family-members are admitted as have been baptised into its cult.
- Aga(n)-bo** : Food-items offered to the goddess small-pox Ajima at the time of birth-rite.
- Aila** : Liquor.
- Aitha** : A kind of sweat-meat.
- Aja** : Collyrium.
- Aji** : The professional local mid-wife; also applied to designate a grand-mother. The office of Aji is a hereditary one.

The goddess of small-pox and ^{other} infant diseases. Ajima is regarded by the Buddhists as the mother of Sakya Sinha (Gautama Buddha). She is believed to have six more sisters; strangely enough the Newars classify seven types of poxes.

- Akash Bhairava:** An aboriginal deity in the Valley regarded as a form of Bhairava. The Duniya Newars prefer to call this deity as Sava-Deya which means the God of Savari. The face of this deity is believed to be up-turned towards the sky.
- Akash Deep :** A festival held during the month of Kartik-Ashwin. It consists in raising the sky-lamp high; ^{called also} Ala-mata.
- Ala-mata :** See Akash Deep.
- Ala-ta-ye-gu :** A ritual act of colouring the toes and fingers of women by the Naini, a female barber. In every Newar ceremony this forms the main part of purificatory rite.
- Amatya :** A sub-caste of Chhatharia. It claims descent from the Rathod clan of the Kshatriya.
- Amitabha :** One of the devine Buddhas which form the religious complex of the Newar Buddhists.
- Ampah :** The four clay-vessels used for the ritual purpose in the festival of Pachali-Bhairava.
- Angu :** A ring; derived from 'Anguthi'.

- Anna Purna-Jatra:** The festival connected with the agricultural prosperity of the people. It takes place on the 12th of Aswin; and held in honour of the goddess Anna Purna at Kathmandu.
- Anti :** A long-naked jug used to represent Bhairava with rice-beer in it.
- Argha :** Seven copper vessels used for ceremonial acts.
- Argha-jal :** A place on the ground-floor where the dying person is placed and is synonymous with Brahmanal.
- Asat-Sudra :** The Buddhist section of the Jyapoo caste.
- Ashtami :** Eighth night of Navaratra. On this day animal sacrifice is profusely done; *also the the eighth day of every*
- Ashtami Guthi :** An institution connected with Ganesh of the tole; festival is held on the 8th day of every month.
- Ashwaratha-rohan :** Part of the second Burha Junko ritual; takes place at the age of 99 years, 9 months, 9 days, 9 hours, 9 palas and 9 ghadis. In it the initiate is drawn in a car through the streets.
- Ashta Matrikas :** The eight mother-goddesses.
- Ati-Daye-ke-gu :** A death-rite on the 10th day; all members go to the nearest river for a ceremonial bath.
- Awa :** Also called Awal. It is an occupational group of brick-makers; also a sub-division of Udas.

- Ba-Fukees** : Agnatic members who have opted out of the circle of Dewali Guthi. Literally it means those who have become 'away' (Ba).
- Bag-Bhairava** : A deified tiger worshipped as Bhairava.
- Bagur-Kasai** : A sub-division of the Kasai. It derives its name from the selling of goat's meat.
- Bahal** : The former monasteries where the Buddhist ascetics used to dwell. They are now homes of the Vanras; also called Vihar.
- Bahi** : An arm-ornament for women; also called baju.
- Bahu-Muta** : The ritual of taking out in procession long bamboo-sticks with a number of lighted lamps on them; practised by Manandhars in Kathmandu. It is a cult connected with the dead.
- Baidya** : A sub-division of the Shresthas.
- Bajee** : Flattened rice called 'Chewra' in Nepali.
- Bajra Jogini** : A form of Kali or Jogini at Sankhu; she is a Buddhist deity.
- Bala-Charhe** : A sacred day on the 14th of the dark-half of Margasir.
- Balamu** : An unclean caste. found in the vicinity of the Pashupati temple in Kathmandu.
- Bali-piye-gu** : A purificatory rite concerning those who return from the cremation ground.

- Bali-Taye-gu :
- Bal Kumari : A deified woman worshipped as a form of Durga or Bhagwati.
- Bala-ji : A form of Narajin.
- Bara : A kind of delicacy of ritual importance.
- Bare : The lower section of the Buddhist priestly caste, which is denied the privilege of being a spiritual teacher. See under Vanra.
- Barha : A puberty ceremony of the girl; for seven days the girl is confined to a dark room occulted from the males.
- Barha-chhui-gu : A ceremony of filling the lap of the girl with the mixture of rice and paddy. It is a purificatory rite concerning the puberty-pollution of a girl.
- Barha-Chane-gu : Observing the Bara(h) when the girl actually gets her first menses.
- Barha-Khya : A sub-variety of Khya (female-spirit) who dwells in such houses where a girl has died during her Bara; worshipped daily during eleven days when a girl is observing Barha.
- Barha-Taye-gu : Observing Barha before a girl has her first menses.
- Barkhi : Mourning for one year during which period the chief mourner has to wear white dress.

- Basi-kachha** : Leaves of peach.
- Basundhara Devi**: Buddhist goddess of wealth and prosperity; its festival takes place on the third of the dark of Ashwin.
- Bhau-Pwa** : Bhau = cat; Pwa = hole; A large opening on the front roof of the house.
- Bata** : A big copper vessel.
- Bau-pee** : Ritual for pacifying the evil spirits.
- Bee-Bhau** : Nine leaf-dishes each containing a special type of paddy called Swa(n)-Wa, gahat pulse, black soyabean, red mass-pulse, rice, mustard seeds, black til, barley, pea-seeds; these are used for ritual purposes.
- Benke** : Ritual-purification.
- Betal** : A quadrangular place where sacrifice is offered at the temple of Pachali Bhairava; believed to be the dwelling place of a spirit of similar name.
- Bha** : A Newar caste, whose hereditary occupation is to accept death-gifts on the 11th day; formerly it was the royal bard during the Newar rule; ranks on par with the other Ektharia castes.
- Bhadrakali Jatra** : A festival chiefly connected with the Gathu Newar; held at the midnight of the 14th of the dark-half of Chaitra.

- Bhairava : The deity which is symbolised as a destructive form of Shiva; also regarded as instrument of locomotion.
- Bhairavi : A generic term applied to designate the female deities in the Valley as the consort of Bhairava.
- Bhaja(n) : A pot usually used for carrying worshipping material.
- Bhalincha : A kind of pot containing oil-cake mixed with mustard oil, paddy, a few blades of grass and meat. It is used for ritual purpose.
- Bhamba : A sub-caste among the Ektharia Newars.
- Bhau-Macha-Du- : The ritual of introducing the new
Kaye-gu : daughter-in-law of the family to the Digu deity.
- Bheda Sing : The deified ram; is located in a small pit at the crossing of two roads in Kathmandu.
- Bhikshu : A sub-division of the Vanra priests.
- Bhimpati : A plant worshipped by the Buddhist Newars; it is the counterpart of the Tulsi plant.
- Bhim-Ratha- : A ritual in the first Burha Junko held
Rohan : at the age of 77 years, 7 months, 7 days, 7 palas and 7 ghadis.
- Bhimsen : The Epic hero regarded as the god of wealth; it is popular among the trading classes of Newars.

- Bhimsen-Guthi** : A sub-guthi connected with the worship of Bhimsen.
- Bhimsen Jatra** : Festival held in honour of Bhimsen, the Epic hero.
- Bhina-masta** : Group of Nephews and nieces.
- Bhincha** : Sister's son.
- Bhoota-charya** : A sub-division of the Achar based on the religious vocation.
- Bhoota-mali-Boye-ke-gu** : The festival of flying the kites; starts with the commencement of Ashwin and lasts for the whole month; is motivated by the Buddhist belief - at least in Nepal - that it is a means of contacting the dead ancestor.
- Bhoto Jatra** : The festival of displaying the shirt of Machhendrar at the Jawla-khel parade-ground. With this the Machhendrar Jatra comes to an end.
- Bhui-Phasi** : Cucirbita Pepa.
- Bhukha-deya** : A God of earthquake in the form of a deified pig.
- Bhujel** : An unclean caste; formerly slaves.
- Bhuta** : A spirit or ghost.
- Bhuti-sa** : A place in Kathmandu believed to be the dwelling place of ghosts and spirits.

- Bicha-Fa-ye-gu :** The ceremony of offering condolences by the relatives of the bereaved family.
- Bijeshwari :** A female deity associated with the tantrik cult; is popular among the Buddhist priestly caste.
- Bijli Guthi :** An institution connected with the worship of the Pithas.
- Bisket Jatra :** A jatra held in Bhatgaon, which inaugurates the New Year's day of Vikram era; starts on the last day of Chaitra and lasts for two more days.
- Bodhi-Saktis :** Female consorts of the divine Buddhas.
- Bosala :** A spirit which appears as a white horse; is regarded to be the giver of riches.
- Bow-Taye-gu :** An act of placing a little quantity of wash-water of rice, turmeric powder and black mass-pulse at the nearest cross-road to ward off the evil influences of the spirit.
- Boxi :** A term applied to designate a woman practising the black-magic.
- Brahmanal :** The place where a dying-man is placed to rest and breathe his last.
- Brahmayani :** The wife of God Erahma, the creator.
- Buddha-margi :** Followers of Buddhism.

- Bula-Nilkantha : Narain; See under Bura-Nil-Kantha.
- Bulla : A kind of meat-dish.
- Bunga-Deya : Another name of Machhendranath.
- Bunga-Nha : Sacred bath at the Bungamati on the first of the dark-half of Baisakh.
- Bunga-ya : A festival held on the first of the bright half of Baisakh at the Bungamati river.
- Burha-Junko : Age-old initiation ceremony; takes place thrice.
- Bura-Nil-Kantha: The huge stone idol of Vishnu in the Valley.
- Bu-Sa-khe : Hair cutting ceremony.
- Byancha-Janake : The festival connected with the worship of frog. It is held on the Rakhi-Poornima day (Gum Punhi).
- Byangini : One of the two female attendants to a bride.
- Chaka Puja : The worship of the 'Kul' deity in which all the family members participate.
- Chakwa-Deya : A deity believed to be either a son or a daughter of Machhendra. The name 'Chakuwa deya' is derived from the word 'Chaku' (Jaggery) and 'Wa' (rice).

- Challa : A kind of meat dish.
- Changu Narain : A form of Vishnu.
- Chare-Guthi : A Guthi connected with the worship of the Pithas on the 14th of the dark-half of every month.
- Chawar : Tail of Yak used as ritual-fan in the Hindu ceremonies.
- Chaubā-Nha : Sacred bathing (Nha) at Chauba on the first day of Chaitra.
- Chhakula : A kind of meat dish.
- Chhatharia : The Newar caste of the second order. Many a section among them were formerly had the status of Kshatriya.
- Chhatra-pal : The circular design in front of the entrance of every Newar house where ceremonially sacred things are thrown away.
- Chheri : Ground floor of a Newar-house.
- Chhetri : A sub-caste of Kshatriya; but it ranks below the Shah, Thakuri and Rana classes; they are descended from the former Khasa race.
- Chhipa : See Ranjitkar.
- Chhoila : A special type of meat preparation.
- Chhoyala-Bhu : A feast in the beginning of the Dewali worship in which a special kind of meat dish known as 'Chhoyala' is served.

- Chhuti(n) : The person which represents a group of agnatic families on the Dewali Guthi Committee.
- Chhusya-musya : Fried seeds of several kinds including soya bean, gram, mass pulse and beans to be used as a ritual food.
- Chhwali : Wheat-straws.
- Chhwasa : A ritual place located at the cross-roads for throwing all inauspicious and ceremonially impure material; believed to be haunted by the Chhwasa-Ajima.
- Chhwassa-Ajima : The younger sister of Ajima, the goddess of small-pox; believed to reside at the cross-road.
- Chhwasa-Wane-gu: Ritual of propitiating the evil spirits located at the Chhwasa. This is practised in all the Newar ceremonies.
- Chhayla : A kind of meat-dish.
- Chitrakar : Painter-caste. It is on par with the other Ektharia castes. Its hereditary occupation is to paint the figures of the deities. In the Bhaktapur town it is known as Pu(n).
- Chuka : Abbreviation from Chouk; the inner court-yard of a house.
- Chwaka : A kind of thorny plant found in the Valley.
- Chwata : Second floor of the house.

- Chyal-Batta : A special kind of grass ritually important.
- Chyamkhala : A caste lowest among the untouchables. It is scavenger caste among the Newars.
- Copra : A copper vessel used as wash-basin, and for urination.
- Dachhina : Ritual of presenting coins in Macha-Bu-
Chha-ye-gu : Ka-ka-Wane-gu ceremony to the newly born child and the mother by the female members of the child's maternal uncle's house.
- Dafa-Swa(n) : A special kind of flower.
- Dagi : A demon personified by a person of Udas caste during the Indra Jatra.
- Daivagya : A sub-division among the Shresthas.
- Daju-kija-Khala: Families of brothers.
- Dakarmi : House-builders.
- Dakkhin Kali : The famous temple of Kali on the top of the hill of Firping to the south of Kathmandu.
- Damai : Unclean caste among the Parbatia. Its hereditary occupation is tailoring.
- Danasur : A demon who frequently occurs in the Newar mythology. He is said to have converted the Valley into a pool for the swimming of his daughter.

- Danuwar : An aboriginal tribe found in the lower hills of Nepal.
- Dasai-ghar : The dark room where the deity is installed for the Nava-ratra worship.
- Da(n) : An unclean caste also known as Pore; see under Pore.
- Dashami Guthi : An institution meant for the propitiation of the goddess Ajima on every 10th day of the month.
- Dasai-teeka : The day of putting teeka-mark on the 10th of Ashwin; also called Dashehara.
- Dechha : Shawl worn by a woman.
- Deep : Burning pyre.
- Dekha : A ritual among the Buddhist Newars. After having undergone this ritual, a person becomes a member of the cult of secret worship connected with the 'Ajima' deity.
- Deo-Chhayal : The ritual of offering meal to the Digu-Deya in the Chhoyala-bhu feast of the festival of Dewali worship.
- Deva Brahmin : Brahmin caste which provides priestly functions to the Newars; called also Deva-Bhaju or Deva-Brahmu or Guru-Baje.

- Devi Rath Yatra** : The festival held in honour of Bhairava and Bhairavi which is celebrated in the town of Noakot to the North of the Valley.
- Dewali** : A secret deity of the Newars which unites all the agnatic members into a group. It is also called Digu. It is woven round the cult of ancestor.
- Dewali Guthi** : Also called Deo-Guthi. An institution to perpetuate the cult of ancestors through feasts and festival of the Dewali deity.
- Dewali-Puja** : The worship of the Dewali or Digu which takes place between the first of the bright half of Baisakh and the sixth of the bright half of Jaistha.
- Dewa(n)** : A special textile material kept with the Sana Guthi office; whenever death occurs, this is put over the corpse during the funeral procession.
- Dewapala** : The temple attendant. Such persons are generally from the unclean castes.
- Dhaka-Ghisa** :
- Dhali-Kacha** : Twigs of Pomegranate tree.
- Dhanwantri Varahi** : A female deity of lower order.
- Dharma Kara** : The first mythical King of the Nepal Valley.

- Dharmis** : Twelve male-dancers who wear masks of different goddesses and dance in the Badrakali Jatra.
- Dhau** : Curd.
- Dhau-Bajee-
Nake-Wane-gu** : Going to feed a pregnant woman with Bajee and curd, a couple of weeks before the delivery is due. This is practised by the woman's parent's family.
- Dhau Saga(n)** : This consists in giving to a person a little curd to eat as a mark of wishing auspiciousness.
- Dhumba-rai** : A deified pig worshipped as the door-keeper in a temple along with its companion, Simbharai.
- Dhunjya-Bunjya** : A long pole with many coloured frills tied to it. It is usually held at the head of a festival-procession.
- Dicha** : The assistants of Mha-patra.
- Digpalas** : The ten divine sentinels.
- Digu Deya** : Dewali deity. See under Dewali.
- Digu Kheya-
Puja-Wane-gu** : The ritual of sending a 'Kala(h)' containing material for the worship on behalf of each of the agnatic families, to the house of the Thakali during the Digu Puja.
- Dila Punhi** : A sacred day in honour of the teacher, which falls on the 15th of the bright-half of Asadh.

- Disi Piya : A Buddhist calender festival.
- Dooly : See under 'Du'.
- Du : The traditional palanquin of the Newars; also called dooly.
- Du-Chhai-ke-gu : The act of ritual-welcome given to a bride or to a person at the main door of the house.
- Du-Du-Chya-Chya: A festival held in honour of Mahadeo. It is held eight days before the 14th of the dark half of Chaitra.
- Dugu-Syaye-gu : The ritual of sacrificing a goat to the Digu deity at its worship.
- Dui-Khutte : A wooden stand used for resting the paddy husking-tool.
- Dukha-Pikha : An act of wrapping the dead body with a white cloth and stitching it.
- Dungol : A sub-division of Jyapoo.
- Duniya : Also called Dui(n) or Dhua(n) or Putwar or Rajputwar. A lower caste among the Newars.
- Dware : The former regional administrative-head who used to be annually appointed by the State.
- Ektharia : A term applied to designate a group of castes which ranks below the Jyapoo. All these are Buddha-margi and employ Gubhaju priests in their ceremonies.

- Fukee : Term applied to the agnatic members coming under a common Dewali Guthi.
- Fukee-Mhasi-Ke-gu : The introduction of the bride to the Bride-groom's Kin.
- Ga : A Shawl.
- Gado-Ju-Ju : Deified king of the Vaishya Thakari dynasty. The term ju-ju means a king in Newari. It is also known as Chaka(n)-deya.
- Gai-Jatra : The festival of cow; is also known as Sa-Ya-Wane-gu in Newari. It takes place on the first of the dark half of the Bhadrpad in memory of the dead relatives.
- Ganesh Chaturthi: The Ganesha's fourth which falls on the fourth of the bright half of Bhadra. It is also called 'chatha'.
- Gathe Mangal : This festival falls on the 14th of the dark half of Sravan. Its celebration involves the belief of the triumph of virtue over the evil. On this day an effigy of demon Ghanta Karna is burnt in every street.
- Ghanta Karan : A demon which is believed to die every year on the 14th of the dark half of Sravan. Its effigy is burnt to mark its death.
- Ghasu : Death rite on the 11th day. The term implies complete purification with the performance of Hom.

- Ghata-Sthapana :** A ceremony held on the first day of Navaratra. Bhagwati is installed for the Nine Day's worship.
- Ghare-Jatra :** The festival of horse. It takes place on the 14th of the dark half of Chaitra.
- Ghya-Chaku-Sanhu :** The festival is held on the last day of Margsirsha. It consists in eating clarified butter (ghya), jaggery (chaku) and 'turul'.
- Goja :** A ritual object of conical shape made out of the paste of flattened-rice. This is necessary in a Newar ceremony.
- Gokarna Aunsi :** The sacred day which involves bathing at Gokarna on the last day of the dark half of Bhadra. This is done in memory of the deceased father. Those whose fathers are alive present them with sweat-meats.
- Gokarna Snan :** -- do --
- Gopalas :** The first horde of the cow-herd race who came to the Valley of Nepal.
- Gonta :** A special group among the members of the Sana Guthi, which is connected with the carrying of the corpse.
- Gorkhas :** The dominant community in Nepal.
- Gorma :** A kind of meat dish.
- Gowardhan Puja :** The festival of Newars which falls on the 15th day of the dark half of Katrik.

- Guala : A sub-caste of Jyapoos found in Thankot, Boshan, Machhe-gaon, Mata Tirtha, Kirtipur, Choub-ar and Patan. In Kathmandu it is known as Hale; two divisions - Nepu and Sa-pu. It claims descent from the early Abhiras.
- Gubhaju : A sub-division of Vanra. It is also known as Bajra Charya. It is the highest priestly order of the Newar Buddhists.
- Gue : A betel-nut.
- Gue-bi-ye-gu : Act of giving betel-nuts by the bridegroom's Thakali to the bride's Thakali to mark the betrothal.
- Gue-Kaye-gu : Act of accepting the betel-nuts by the bride's Thakali in the above ritual; it also means the ritual of bride's taking leave of her parent's home. This is signified by the acceptance of ten betel-nuts by each of the bride's kin.
- Gue-Saiki-Gu : Ritual of introduction by presenting betel-nuts by the person who is being introduced. This takes place twice in a marriage ceremony, once in the bride's parents' home and second, in the bridegroom's home.
- Gula : A Newari term for the month of Sravan.
- Gula-Lakhe : The numerous mask dancers who during the month of Sravan represent demons and go about dancing on the streets.
- Gul-Marhi : A kind of sweat-meat.

- Gula-Paru-Bhuc : A sub-Guthi which is connected with
-Guthi : the celebration of the Sravan month.
- Gum Punhi : A sacred day on the 15th of the bright-half of Sravan.
- Gunruk : Sun-dried vegetable leaves commonly relished by the Nepalese.
- Gupta : Surname of the Abhira Kings of Nepal.
- Guru-Baje : A synonymous with Deva Bhaju.
- Gurung : A mongoloid tribe which ranks below the Kshatriya and above the Vaishya. It is found in Central Nepal to the north of the Magar tribe.
- Guruva Charya : A sub-division of Achar according to its religious avocation.
- Guthi : The term means a trust which manages and looks after some religious property or charitable fund. It splits the Newars into a number of social-groups on the same plane.
- Guthiar : Members who represent their households on the Guthi Committee.
- Gotho : A caste of gardner, which ranks below the Jyapoo but on a par with the other Ektharia castes. It is connected with the festival of Bhadrakali; also called Mali.
- Haku Musya : Black Soyabin.

- Hara Huru : A section of Chyamkhala to which it is lower in rank. It is regarded as the progeny of Chyamkhala and some other untouchable caste.
- Hari-badhani-
Ekadashi : A sacred day of Newar which falls on the eleventh day of the bright-half of Kartik.
- Hathu-Haye-gu : A ritual-act of causing the rice-beer to flow out of the mouth of Bhairava. It is performed when the car of Kumari arrives at Indra-chowk.
- Hawan Kunda : The sacred fire.
- Hayu : An aboriginal tribe found in the lower hills of Eastern Nepal.
- Hi : Sweet potato.
- Hitty : Traditional water-tap to be found in the Valley.
- Holi : The festival which is observed for seven days beginning on the 8th bright half of Falgun.
- Holi-Guthi : An institution which is meant for the purpose of celebrating the festival of Holi.
- Hom : The Hindu ritual of worshipping the fire. The term is synonymous with 'Hawan'.
- Honke-gu : Marriage-ritual in the house of the bride-groom.
- Ichhanku Narain: One of the chief idols of Vishnu in the Valley.

- I(n) : A sicle.
- I(n)-cho : "
- Indra Jatra : Festival held in commemoration of the visit of Lord Indra and his mother to the Valley; starts on the twelfth of the bright half of Bhadrapad and lasts for eight days.
- Indriani : Wife of Indra.
- Indriani : A form of Mai (female deity). She is supposed to preside over a crematorium.
- Ja-Bwo : The rite of offering cooked rice to the Kusle on the 7th day of death.
- Jaisi : A sub-caste among the Parbatia Brahmins. It is believed to be the progeny of the Brahmin widows.
- Jamra : The yellow seedlings of barley which is grown in the dark room where the Navaratra worship is held. This is essential ritual object for the celebration of Dashshera.
- Jangh-wal-Suruwa: Lower garment of the unmarried girls.
- Jani : Cloth-belt known as 'patuka' in Nepali.
- Janta : Marriage-procession; derived from the Nepali term, Jantri.
- Java-Chatu-Pi- : A special kind of fish used for ritual
Nhya : purpose.

- Jhakari** : Priest-magician who is employed to counteract the evil influence of the spirit.
- Jhalar** : It is a rectangular piece of red cloth, to serve as an umbrella for a sacred object.
- Jhayata Pola** : A special deity represented by a long stone phyllus to whom, is attributed the power of bestowing a child.
- Jhya** : Window; derived from the Nepali word 'Jhyal'.
- Jhyalincha** : A wooden-puppet of ritual importance.
- Jo-Bwo** : The ritual of accepting the items of feast by the Kusle on the 7th day death-rite.
- Jogini** : General term to designate the tantric goddesses of the lower order.
- Joshi** : A sub-group of Chhatharia which is partly Brahmin and partly non-Brahmin. It expounds Shresthas and assists the Deo-Brahmins in all ceremonies and religious activities of the Newars.
- Jutho** : Pollution.
- Jwalah-Nhai-Ka(n)** : Traditional bronze mirror which is required in every Newar ceremony.
- Jyapoo** : The cultivating caste among the Newars. The term 'Jya' means work and 'poo' means a kind of paddy known as Tauli Paddy; believed to be descended from the early Lichhavis of Nepal. But it has assimilated many other ethnic groups.
- Jy-Punhi** : Sacred day which falls on the full-moon-day of Jaistha.

- Jyapoo-Phyakha :** The traditional stage-plays associated with the Jyapeos.
- Jyapoo-Sikha :** A female head-ornament popular among the Jyapoo-Newars.
- Kahabaja(n) :** A long bamboo-like musical pipe instrument.
- Kaita Puja :** Initiation ceremony of a boy. Kaita means the 'langoti' used for covering the penis.
- Kaji :** The head of the caste-council of the Manandhars. It is also a term of respect applied to the Shresthas by the castes lower in rank.
- Kaji :** The four chief girls among those undergoing the Yihee initiation.
- Kala :** A pot for carrying worshipping material.
- Kalah-Waye-gu :** At the ceremonial feast, this ritual is performed for warding off the influence of the evil spirits by placing a share of food at the Chhwasa after the feast is over.
- Kalampo :** Ritual of warding off the influence of the evil spirits.
- Kalika :** The serpent God, white in colour with 30 chaperons believed to dwell in north-west in the Valley.
- Kalya-Nhaye-ke-gu :** Custom of presenting the arm-ornament on behalf of the bridegroom to the bride before marriage.

- Kami** : The Parbatia blacksmith caste.
- Kan-deota** : A goddess of ear-disease which is located on the way to Patan from Kathmandu.
- Ka(n)-Joshi-Bwake-gu** : The ritual of worshipping a big copper pot sufficient to contain four persons. This is done by an Achaju priest in the Pachali Bhairava Jatra.
- Kankeshwari Mai** : It is also known as Ajima. She presides over a crematorium.
- Kansakar** : Also known as Kasa. It is a sub-division of Udas. Its hereditary occupation is to work in bronze-metal.
- Kanyada(n)** : Ritual of offering the girl to God Narain in the Yihee ritual.
- Karkotaka** : The serpent God with blue colour and characterised by a human figure but with the tail of serpent who lives in the south east.
- Karma Charya** : A sub-division of Achar.
- Karnatakas** : The people who came from Karnatak with Nanyadeo.
- Karua** : A water pot.
- Kasai** : An unclean caste. Its hereditary profession is the killing of buffalo and selling of its meat.
- Kastha-Mandap** : A wooden temple structure in Kathmandu from which the city derives its name.

- Kata** : A head-ornament for female.
- Kau** : Blacksmith caste among the Newars.
- Kaula-Bwo** : The ritual of offering a feast to the Kusle on the 7th day of the death. The offering contains feast items and not rice.
- Kaya-Ashtami** : An auspicious day on the 8th of the bright-half of Bhadra.
- Kayastha** : Also called Kasa-Ju. It is a sub-division of the Chhatharia caste.
- Kee-gateene-gu** : Act of offering the pindas, made of barley flour, to the dead persons upto five generations.
- Kha** : Abbreviated form of Khat, a wooden structure. At the time of festival, the deity is carried in it through the various streets.
- Khadga Jatra** : The festival of displaying swords held on the Dashehera day. It is also called Pa-Ya.
- Kharu-Puja** : See Kha; Kharu = door; A ritual connected with the worship of the door of a new house.
- Khatta-Muga** : A wooden pulverizer.
- Khatri** : A sub-caste of Kshatriya-group. They are the progeny of Brahmin and Kshatriyas by union with the women, of lower castes. Gradations of the different Khatri varies according to the caste of their mothers.

Khayekuri	:	A pot containing rice-beer to represent Bhairava.
Khicha-Puja	:	Dog-worship held on the fourteenth of the dark-half of Kartik.
Khila-Goi-ya-Dashami	:	Sacred day of the Buddhist which falls on the 10th of the dark half of Margasirsha.
Khoosa	:	A sub-caste of Newars which ranks below the Jyapoos.
Khukri	:	Nepali dagger.
Khumu	:	A basket.
Khu(n)	:	A thief.
Khurpi	:	A spud.
Khwa-se-gu	:	Seeing the face; Ritual of bride's kin visiting the bridegroom's home to meet the bride.
Khyaka	:	A sub-type of Preta. It is a female spirit and believed to be troublesome.
Kichak	:	Minister-General of King Birat; also a demon.
Kichakinni	:	A female spirit, very beautiful with her toes behind.
Kija-Puja	:	The festival of brother-worship which takes place on the second day of Kartik.

- Kimila : A kind of meat dish.
- Kiratas : The ancient race who lived on the Himalaya and from whom the mongoloid tribes - Rai and Limbu claim their descent.
- Kisi-Gane : Elephant Ganesh. In Newari Kisi means elephant.
- Kisi-Puja : The festival of worshipping an elephant on the second of the lunar month of Kartik.
- Ko-Bali-Pind- : Act of offering the Pindas to crows
Jaye-gu : during the Nhyanuma day ceremony on the 7th day of the death of a person. It is done by the Shiva-Margi Newars.
- Kolla : A brass vessel.
- Ko(n)-Chhika(n) : Wheat-flour mixed in oil to be used in place of soap.
- Koo : A load containing worshipping material and some other items.
- Ko-Puja : Crow-worship; held on the 13th of the dark-half of Kartik.
- Kota : A bier.
- Kota : The copper worshipping pot.
- Koteshwar : A form of Shiva.
Mahadeo :

- Krishna Ashtami:** The festival held in honour of Krishna.
- Ku :** Digging hoe called Kodali in Nepal.
- Kuchhi-Bhue :** A family-feast held on the night of the eighth day of Navaratra.
- Kuki-cha :** Digging hoe with a long handle.
- Kul :** Lineage.
- Kula :** Sixth month.
- Kule :** Grain measuring pot.
- Kullu :** Newar cobbler. It is an unclean caste.
- Kumai :** Sub-caste of the Parbatia Brahmin which takes second rank among the Nepalese Brahmins. It is anti-hypergamous to the Parbatia Brahmin.
- Kumari :** Living human female installed as the goddess Bhagwati and worshipped by the Newars. Each Bahal has its own Kumari beside this main Kumari.
- Kumari Guthi :** The trust dedicated to the Kumari and connected with the management of the Kumari-Jatra.
- Kumari-Jatra :** The festival in honour of the Kumari which begins on the full moon day of Bhadrapad.
- Kumhal :** Sub-division of Jyapoo. Its occupation is pottery.

- Kushmand : White pumpkin.
- Kushmand : Sacred day when Satya-yuga is believed
Navami : to have begun. It falls on the
9th day of the bright half of
Kartik.
- Kusle : Also known as Jogi or Darshandhari.
Its hereditary calling is tailor-
ing; but it is also the temple
priest of minor deities. It
provides music at the festivals
and ceremonies; also accepts
death-gifts on the 7th day.
- Lai : Radish.
- Lakha-Bi-ye-gu : Custom of presenting the 'Lakha' sweets
to the bride's parents before
marriage.
- Lakha-Marhi : Sweat-meats.
- Lakha-Tirtha : The famous Buddhist tirtha situated on
the bank of Vishnumati.
- Lakhe : Etymologically means a demon; it also
means progeny of Brahmin widows.
it is an inferior section of the
Deva-Brahmin.
- Lamu : Also called Duniya. See under Duniya.
- La(n) : Upper garment.
- La-pya-ke-gu : Ritual of praying for rain.
- La-pyan- : Monthly sraddhas for one year since
Thaye-gu : the date of death.

- Lasa-Kusa** : Ritual which involves leading a person to be initiated to the ceremonial booth by a long iron key. This is done by the Thakali Naki. The Noku Naki has to mark the route by sprinkling sacred water on the ground.
- La-Swa-Wane-gu** : Act of taking out a marriage procession.
- La-To(n)-ke-gu** : The ceremony of offering water to a corpse.
- Leesa-Paye-gu** : Worshipping the Dewali deities at the various places on the route when Digu deity is brought back home from the Digu-Kheya.
- Lhuti Punhi** : Sacred day on the 15th of the bright-half of Chaitra.
- Lichhavi** : The ancient tribe who ruled in Nepal.
- Limbu** : A mongoloid tribe allied to the Rai. It is regarded as descended from the ancient Kirata.
- Linga** : Phallus which Buddhist section regards as an emblem of lotus in which the spirit of Adi Buddha was manifest in the form of a flame to Manjusri.
- Linga Yatra** : Erection of a wooden pole; it is also known as Vishwa-Dwajotathanam.
- Locha** : Custom of married women's calling at the house of the bereaved family on the sixth day of the death.
- Locha-Bhoye** : The light feast in which the married daughters who come for 'Locha' participate in the house of a bereaved family on the sixth day of the death.

- Lo(n)-Digu : Stone-digu deity. Lo(n) means stone.
- Loh(n)-Karmi : A sub-division of Udas which works in stone and ivory.
- Lokeshwar : Another name for god Machhendra.
- Loo(n)-Digu : The group of deities worshipped at the house of the Thakali which are mostly of conical shape. It is made of metal.
- Luchuri : Wrist ornament.
- Luchumari Mai : A form of Mai (female deity) in the Valley.
- Lu-Incha : A piece of white cloth.
- Lusi-Thai-ke-gu: A purificatory rites involving the pairing of the nails.
- Lukuma-Deya : Means the hiding Shiva. It is worshipped by both the religious groups of Newars, the Buddhist and the Hindu. This deity is always kept hidden amidst the garbage and covered under a stone.
- Lumari Mai : A form of Mai (female deity). It is also known as Bhadrakali.
- Lu(n)-We-Swa(n): Female's head-ornament.
- Luti Mai : A form of Mai (female deity).

- Lya-Sikhya** : Location where the huge wooden pole, Linga is erected. It is situated in front of the Bhairavi Indriani in Bhatgaon.
- Macha-Bu-Benke-gu** : Birth purificatory rite.
- Macha-Bu-gu-ka-Wane-gu** : A custom which involves visit by the female members of the child's maternal uncle's house to get the mother and child back to their home.
- Macha-Bu-Junko** : Rice-feeding ceremony.
- Machhe-Narain** : Idol worshipped as the fish form of Vishnu.
- Machhendra Jatra** : National festival of the Newar which is held in the town of Patan and spread over for about two months.
- Machhendra Nath** : God of rain and harvest. It is represented by a hewn block of wood of a dark-red colour.
- Magar** : A mongoloid tribe which ranks below the Kshatriya and above the Vaishya. It is found in central Nepal on the lower elevation to the south of the Gurungs.
- Mahapadmini** : Serpent-god, golden in colour, whose abode is in the north east of the Valley.
- Mahankal** : God of terror in the form of a Bhairava. It is a Buddhist deity, though equally worshipped by the Hindus.

- Maharias** : Village functionaries in the former days.
- Mais** : The lower forms of Durga or Kali, endowed with malignant powers, whose propitiation and appeasement are essential for the protection and tranquility of the community. They are represented by a number of round stones. These Mais are also known as Bhairavis, the consorts of Bhairavas.
- Maite-Devi** : A form of Mai (female deity).
- Maitee** : A Nepali term used to designate a married woman's parent's home.
- Maka-phosi** : Ear ornament of the female.
- Malla** : Sub-caste of the Chhatharia. It claims the descent from the former Malla kings of Nepal.
- Manandhar** : A Newar caste whose hereditary occupation is oil pressing; also called Salmi or Saimi. 'Sal' means oil-pressing machine and 'mi' means owner. It ranks below the Jyapoo.
- Mandal** : A special kind of geometrical design drawn in front of the person undergoing a ceremony.
- Manjusri** : A deified saint who is believed to have attained the Buddha stage. He had two wives - Barda and Makseda, who rank below the mortal Bodhi Sattwas. Manjusri is a Buddhist male substitute for Saraswati.

- Marhi** : Sweat-meat.
- Marhi-Karmi** : A sub-division of Udas. It is confectioners by occupation.
- Mata-Beu-Wane-gu** : Festival of placing the lamps on the street in memory of the dead on 12th of the bright half of Bhadra.
- Mata(n)** : First floor of the house.
- Mata-ti Charhe** : Sacred day in honour of one's mother on the 14th of the dark-half of Baisakh.
- Mata-Ya** : The festival of lamp in Patan, which falls on the next day of Gai Jatra. It derives its name from the custom of carrying a lamp by each of the participants. It is held in memory of the dead.
- Me-pu** : A sub-division of Hale. Etymologically the term means dealer in buffalo's milk.
- Mha-patra** : A mask-wearer representing the demon in the festival of Pachali Bhairava.
- Mha-Puja** : It means 'worship of the self'. It is confined to the members of one's own family. This festival takes place on the first day of the bright half of Kartik, the New Year's Day of the Newars.
- Mhya-Masta** : The children of daughters.
- Misa-La(n)** : Upper-garment of the female.

Mitaimha	:	The chief mourner who applies fire to the funeral pyre.
Mitha Punhi	:	A sacred day on the 15th of the bright-half of Pausa.
Mohar	:	Nepalese rupee.
Momocha	:	A Tebetan dish.
Mukha-Ashtami	:	An auspicious day, which falls on the 8th day of the bright half of Kartik.
Munshi	:	A sub-division of Chhatharias. It is a sub-variety of the Kasaju or Kayastha.
Murda-Do-Pat	:	Road crossing where the funeral procession stops to place the three unburnt bricks.
Murhi	:	Unit of weight; 1 Murhi = 160 pounds avoirdupoise.
Murmi	:	A mongoloid tribe mostly found in and around the Valley of Nepal; also called Tamang or Dhamang.
Musya	:	Black-soya-bean. In every Newar ritual it is necessary.
Muta	:	Custom of conveying the news to Fukee members of having burnt the corpse.
Nachha	:	The worship of Dewali puja which takes place between the first of the dark half of Bhadra and the first of the bright half of Ashwin.
Naga Ananta	:	Serpent god who is believed to dwell in the east of the Valley and who is dark-blue in colour.

- Na-ga : A kind of meat dish.
- Naga-sing : The serpent-gods.
- Nag Hrid : Mythological name of the Valley of Nepal meaning 'the above of the serpent-gods'.
- Nag Panchami : Festival observed in honour of the serpent-gods on the fifth of the bright-half of Sravan.
- Nasa Deya : Shiva as the god of dance and music. It is worshipped by the Newars and forms a part of their group-life. This deity accepts animal sacrifice in addition to the offering of rice-beer and liquor.
- Nasa-Khala : Caste - musical group.
- Naso-Puja-Guthi: An institution for training in songs and caste music. Also connected with the worship of Nasa Deya, the Newar deity of dance and music.
- Nhakaha : *The worship of Dewali which takes place between the period of the first of the dark half of Bhadra and the first of the bright half of Ashwin*
- Nhayenuma : Death-rite on the 7th day of the death when the married daughter of the bereaved family offers rice-balls to the Kusle.
- Nai-Ajima : Consort of Panchali Bhairavas represented by a person from the Kasai caste during the Pachali Bhairava festival.
- Naini : Woman-barber who hails from the Kasai caste.

- Nanda-Gwa : A cowherd boy mentioned in the mythology of the Newars.
- Nani-cha-ya : The car-drawing procession of Kumari; held on the third of the dark half of Ashwin; the car is drawn through the middle part of the town.
- Nandi-Mukh-Sradha : One of the rituals connected with the worship of the manes by offering the Pindas of her-fruits, bamboo shoots and some blades of grass.
- Naran-Deya : A synonym for Narain.
- Narayan Jatra : The festivals held annually in honour of Narain or Vishnu. See under Narain also.
- Nar Devi : The temple dedicated to a Mai in the Valley. The deity derives its name from the old practice of human sacrifice to it. Also called Neta-Ajima.
- Navaratra : Festival of the Nine-day. It starts on the first day of the Lunar month during which the goddess Bhagwati is worshipped and offered profuse sacrifices.
- Navmi : The 9th day of Navaratra.
- Nayakas : Village officials in the former days.
- Neena-Puj : Ritual connected with the worship of beams and pillars of a newly constructed house.

- Neta-Ajima Jatra:**
or Nardevi : The festival held in the town of
Jatra : Kathmandu. The term Neta-Ajima
means the grand-mother of Neta
locality. She is also known as
Nara Devi. It takes place annually
on the 14th day of the dark-half
of Chaitra and also offer every 12
years.
- Nigali** : A kind of bamboo plant called Ti(m) in
Newari.
- Nila-Tara-**
Jogini : A female deity of lower order.
- Nila Varahi** : A female deity of lower order.
- Nisala** : The big earthen pot containing Chewra,
sweat-meats and two betel-nuts to
be sent to the place of worship on
behalf of each of the families.
- Nisala-Chhya-**
guthi : An institution which is connected with
the Swayambhu worship.
- Nisi-Ya-ye-gu** : A generic term for purificatory rituals;
it includes Lusi-Thike-gu, Ala-ta-
ye-gu and the ritual of house-
purification.
- Nitya-Puja** : Daily worship.
- Noku-Naki** : Wife of Nokuli.
- Nou** : Newar barber caste; also known as Napit.
- Nyokuli** : One of the eight senior members of the
clan.

- Oha-i(n)cha : A piece of yellow cloth.
- Pa : Hatchet.
- Pachali Bhairava: One of the main Bhairavas; this deity is represented by five phullus idols protected under the hood of a serpent. It is some times identified with a demon.
- Padmaka : A serpent-god with the colour of lotus-stem and with five Chaperons; it is believed to dwell in the south in the Valley.
- Padma Pani : The fourth devine Bodhi-Sattwa who is identified with Matsyendranath.
- Paha(n)-charbe : An auspicious day on the 14th of the dark half of Chaitra when the goddesses, specially those connected with black-magic, are propitiated.
- Pahari : Etymologically it means 'that from the hill'; the people known by this name are found in the eastern lower hills; a section of them is merged with the Jyapoo and is known now as Pihl or Pahl.
- Pai Jani : A former custom under which the Government servants had to be annually reappointed in their respective posts.
- Paina Ja : A custom of inviting a betrothed girl by her relatives to dine with them; it is a sort of farewell dinner.

- Pai(n)ti-La-gu :** The act of placing a replica of wooden-ladder, an eyeless needle and a cooking furnace at the cremation ground; this is performed on the 7th day after death.
- Paju-Khala :** Family of maternal uncle.
- Pakha-Ja :** The custom of offering food to the soul of the deceased on the seventh day of death.
- Palawari Tuchi :** A female ear-ornament.
- Palu :** Ginger.
- Panch-Bihi :** Five types of grasses used as ritual objects in a Newar ceremony.
- Pancha-gabhya :** Solution of cow-dung and cow's urine used for ritual purification.
- Panchal Desh :** A place which is identified with the present village of Panauti situated in the region of Bhatgaon in the Valley.
- Panchalinga-Bhairava Jatra :** The festival which is held in honour of Panchali Bhairava or Pachali Bhairava; is observed during the 4th, 5th and 6th of the bright half of Ashwin.
- Panch-Shikha :** A ritual-garland made of five kinds of leaves namely, Var, peepal, Bimri, mango and 'palas'; it also contains a golden ring of Nava-Ratna; it is used in the initiation ceremony of a Newar boy.
- Parbati :** Parvati, wife of Shiva.

- Parbatia : The Gorkha caste-groups; it means 'those hailing from the hills'; this term is exclusively used in the Valley, especially by the Newars; all those whose mother-tongue is Nepali fall under this group.
- Parsi : Saree.
- Pasi-Kacha : The twigs of Pear-tree.
- Pasupati : The chief higher deity in the Valley of Kathmandu; Pasupati is worshipped as the Lord of animals and regarded by all as the guardian deity of Nepal.
- Patal-Deep : The ritual of placing a lamp at the base of the pole of Akash-deep; such a lamp signifies lighting the lamp in the world below the earth.
- Patee : Resting places at the approaches to a Newar settlement.
- Pathi-Lui-gu : A ritual which consists in showering rice, flowers and fruits over a person three times from a pathi; it is done by the Thakali-Naki in the Newar ceremonies.
- Patra-Khela-Ajima : The consort of Pachali-Bhairava, personified by a Jyapoo during the Pachali Bhairava festival; the name is derived from the type of pot 'Patra-Khola' which is held in hand.
- Patra-Vamsa-Thakut : A section of Kshatriya in the former days.

- Patuka : A long piece of loin-cloth worn round the waist to serve as a belt for keeping the stomach warm.
- Pekuli : One of the eight senior members of the clan.
- Phali-Baji : A ritual in Yihee which involves the eating of Teye (Powa), curd, milk and fruits by girls under initiation.
- Phanga-Teye-gu : Ritual of covering the 'du' with a silken shawl of red colour when the bride sits in it at the time of leaving for the bridegroom's home; this ritual is performed by the Thakali.
- Pho : A ritual connected with death.
- Phoo-Bare : A Vanra-priest who is named so owing to his special function of rounding off the Vanra-Jatra.
- Phool-Pati : A ceremony held on the 8th day of Navaratra.
- Pihi : A sub-division of Jyapoo; as a separate tribe they are known as Pahari.
- Pikha-Lakhu : A circular symbol in front of every house where all the sacred objects are thrown at the end of the ceremonies;
- Pikha-Lukhnee : --- do ---
- Pindas : Rice-balls to be offered to the manes.

- Pitha-Charya** : A sub-division of Achar.
- Pitha-Puja** : It consists in worshipping eight flags representing the different Pithas and goddesses; every Newar ceremony involves this ritual.
- Pitri-Paksh** : The fifteen day-period regarded as sacred to the manes, which falls during the dark half of Ashwin; both the Hindu and Buddhist Newars offer rice-balls to their dead relatives on some day within this period.
- Pi-Yu-Cha-Nhya-ke-gu** : A custom of presenting a golden bangle and red coral-beads to a new born child by its father's sister.
- Po-holae** : The married daughter who walks at the head of the funeral procession, scattering paddy-grains.
- Pore** : An untouchable caste.
- Postiga(n)** : A special kind of wholesome sweets made of milk, dry fruits and jaggery; this is normally supplied to a woman during her post-delivery period.
- Pradhan** : A sub-caste of Chatharia; it derives its name from its former occupation of being the regional administrators during the Newar reign.
- Preta** : Spirits of those persons who had died of accident or whose souls have not yet found salvation on account of the sins committed while alive.

- Pula-Kisi : The dance performed on the fifth of the dark half of Bhadra by a person wearing an elephant's mask.
- Pulu : A leaf-umbrella or a bamboo mat.
- Pupala : A kind of meat-dish.
- Putu-Gue : The betel-nuts given by a bride to her parents, on the eve of her departure for the bridegroom's house.
- Pya(n)-Tha-ye-gu : Shradha; etymologically it means dividing the anus into two parts.
- Rai : A mongoloid tribe to be found to the east of the great Valley; it is a sub-division of the former Kirata tribe.
- Raj-Bhandari : A sub-caste of Chhatharias; formerly store-keepers in the days of Newar Kings. It acts as cooks at the Talleju Temple.
- Rajopadhya : A Brahmin caste which provides priestly functions to the Hindu Newars. Formerly it acted as the priest to the royal Mallas.
- Rakhi Poornima : The festival of tying the yellow thread round the wrist; the thread is tied by a Brahmin; also a day of great festivity marked by the eating of nine kinds of seeds.
- Ram Navami : The festival held in honour of Rama on the 9th day of Chaitra.

- Rana** : A sub-caste of the Kshatriyas in Nepal.
- Ranjitkar** : Also called Cheepa or Chhipa; etymologically it means dyer of cloth; it is connected with the Pachali Bhairava Jatra. It ranks below the Jyapoo on a par with the other Ektharia castes.
- Ropani** : A Newar unit of land measurement; 1 Ropani = 608 $\frac{4}{9}$ square yards.
- Rudraksh** : A seed of Eleo-carpus-genitrees which is held in high reverence by the Hindu Newars and by all the Hindus. It is identified with Shiva.
- Sa-Duru-Ha-Ha-
Ya-ye-gu** : A rite concerning purification of the house by sprinkling cow's milk all over the floor.
- Saga(n)** : Ritual food items which includes boiled egg, liquor, dried fish, boiled meat and Ja(n)ra. It is pronounced as . It is offered to an individual by the Thakali Naki for wishing him or her an auspicious moment.
- Sahasra-Chandra:
Darshanam** : Part of the old age-initiation ceremony. It is performed at the age of 83 years four months, 4 days, 4 palas and 4 ghadis. It means seeing the thousand moons.
- Saju Puja** : An institution which is connected with the worship of the goddess Saraswati.
- Saki** : Bulb of Arum colocasia.

- Sakya Sinha** : The last and most prominent mortal Buddha, who takes rank after the divine Buddhas. The term is synonymous with Gautama Buddha.
- Salmi** : Also called Saimi or Manandhar. The term is derived from the occupation of oil-pressing. 'Sal' means oil pressing machine and 'mi' means workers or inhabitants.
- Samai** : A kind of ritual-breakfast which generally precedes a ceremonial feast. It includes a cup of liquor, bajee and a few pieces of buffalo-meat.
- Samba-Ja-Nake-gu** : The dinner which takes place at the bride's place on the night of the arrival of the marriage procession. Only the bride and her consanguineal relatives participate in this dinner.
- Sana-Guthi** : Caste-Guthi which is concerned with the cremation of the dead.
- Sanga(n)** : Also called Sangat. A washer-man caste of the Newars.
- Sankalpa** : A ritual consisting in offering the flowers and rice to Sukunda, Panch-Bali and Ashta-Matrikas.
- Sankhapala** : One of the serpent-gods, who is believed to be yellowish in colour and to dwell in the south west in the Valley.
- Sanya-Khunya** : A kind of meat dish.

- Sapta-Beej-
Hole-gu : The ritual of scattering seven kinds
: of seeds around the Pashu-pati
hill in memory of those who have
recently died.
- Sa-Pu : A sub-division of Hale. Etymologically
it means a dealer in cow's milk.
- Saraswati : A goddess of learning and also regarded
as a symbol of creation.
- Sarki : An untouchable caste whose hereditary
occupation is shoe-making.
- Sat-Brindika : Yellow threads by which a girl is
measured hundred and eight times
from crown to head, during the
Gihee initiation.
- Sati : Act of immolation of a living widow on
her deceased husband's funeral pyre.
- Satoo : Rice floor
- Sat-Sudra : The Hindu section of the Jyapoo of
Bhaktapur. It is also known as
Swa.
- Sava-Bhaku : Two mask wearers which are believed to
represent the Ganas of Sava deva
(Akash Bhairava) at the time of
the latter's festival.
- Sa-Ya : 'Sa' means cow and 'ya' is an abbreviation
of Yatra or Jatra. The term, there-
fore, means the festival of cow
which is connected with the cult
of the dead.
- Sa-Ya-Wa-Pi : Cow mask wearers on the Gai Jatras.

- See-Guthi** : The smaller circle within the larger circle of Sana Guthi. 'Sie' means 'to burn'. Therefore, Sie-Guthi means the Guthi connected with the burning of the dead. Some times the circle of Sana Guthi coincides with the circle of this Guthi.
- Seki-Milha-Punhi** : The 15th of the dark-half of Margasir, when the Buddhist Newars scatter seven kinds of seeds round the hill of Swayambhu and the Hindu Newars round the hill of Pashupati.
- Seto-Macchendra: Jatra** : The festival of white Macchendra which takes place on the 8th of the bright-half of Chaitra in Kathmandu and lasts for four days.
- Shah** : The sub-caste of the Kshatriya.
- Shakya Bhikshu** : Synonymous with the term Vanra; it is especially applied to designate the Vanras of Patan. Tradition asserts that they got this appellation as a result of having followed Shakya Sinha.
- Shila(n)** : Firewood used for kindling the sacred fire.
- Shinamhu** : The traditional bronze-pot for keeping vermilion.
- Shinha** : Vermilion.
- Shiya-baji** : A special kind of Chiwra (flattened rice).

- Shrestha** : High caste Newars. They are divided into Chhatharia and Panchtharia. Also called Sheshya. The term is more in vogue as a surname among the Panchtharia Newars.
- Siddhi Vinayak** : Ganesh at Sankhu in the Valley.
- Sie-Guthi** : A Guthi which is in charge of carrying out the various stages connected with the disposal of the corpse. It is confined to caste-members only. Some times it refers to a group of families within Sana Guthi, which alone can touch the corpse.
- Sika-Bhu** : Ritual-distribution of the different parts of the head of a sacrificed animal among the eight senior members of the group and the eating of these parts by such members.
- Sikarmi** : Also called Si-ka-mi. It is a sub-division of Udas. Its hereditary occupation is carpentry.
- Sikha** : A sub-type of Preta, which is a household spirit. It is the spirit of a person who had been a member of the family and is, therefore, regarded as an ancestors' spirit.
- Sikha Narain** : A form of Vishnu.
- Simbharai** : See under Dhumbarai.

- Sincho-Phaye-gu** : Ritual of applying vermillion to woman's forehead. This is done at the ceremonies of puberty, mock-marriage and marriage. In the first two cases, the vermillion is applied by the Thakali-Naki, while in the last case, the husband does it.
- Singha Sankranti:** The sacred day on the 1st of the bright half of Bhadra. A festival is held on this day in honour of Bagh-Bhairava.
- Sinha** : Teeka or the sacred mark on the forehead.
- SinJa-Benke** : The purificatory rite performed after the transplantation of paddy; it is motivated by the belief that during the plantation the inter-dining results in the temporary loss of caste.
- Sinduri** : A type of head-ornament worn by a woman.
- Sinki** : Fermented vegetables or leaves commonly relished by the Nepalese.
- Sirbandi** : A female head-ornament.
- Sisa-Palu** : 'Prasad' to be distributed among the members of the family after worshipping the Ajima consequent on the birth of a child.
- Sisi-Taye-gu** : The custom of not bringing the bride straight-away home when the marriage party returns, but keeping her for a night in a friend's house.

- Sithi-Nakha** : An auspicious day on the 6th of the bright-half of Jaistha with which the worship of Dewali comes to an end; on this day a festival is held in honour of Kumar, brother of Ganesh; it is also the day when the Newars clean the wells.
- Sithi-Nakha Guthi** : A sub-Guthi which is concerned with the cleaning of the well on the Sithi Nakha day.
- Situ-Ghai(n)** : A special kind of grass used for the ritual purpose.
- Sokuli** : One of the eight senior members of the clan.
- Soma Vamshi** : The shepherded Kings of Nepal called themselves by this term.
- Sonsi** : The firewood used for Hawan ritual.
- Sri Panchami** : A festival observed in honour of the goddess Saraswati by the Hindu Newars and Manjusri by the Buddhist Newars; it takes place on the fifth of Margasirsha.
- Suruwa** : Lower garment of a Newar.
- Sukunda** : The traditional oil-lamp with a serpentine handle to represent Ganesh; this article is essential in the religious ceremonies of the Newars.
- Surya Vinayak** : Ganesh at Bhatgaon.
- Sutak** : Pollution; it is a Nepali term.

- Suwal : A sub-division of Jyapoo, which is found in the Bhaktapur area.
- Swa-Bhagwati : An aboriginal deity regarded as Bhagwati; it is believed to preside over witchcraft.
- Swan-Chhaye-gu : The ceremony of offering flowers; Swa(n) means flower and 'Chhaye-gu' means 'the act of offering to the god'.
- Swa(n)-ka-Wa-Kaye-gu : The act of collecting the barley seedlings in a vessel on the day following Navaratra.
- Swayambhu : The supreme god of the Buddhists; its temple is situated in the Valley of Nepal. It is also called Adi Buddha.
- Sweta-Varahi : A female deity of lower order.
- Syaka=Tyako : A feast which takes place on the last day of Navaratra; it is confined to one's own family members. It is the day of offering sacrifices to Bhagwati.
- Syangini : See under Byangini.
- Syapati : A kind of meat-dish.
- Taha-Kha : A kind of meat-dish.
- Taha-Si : Common citron.

- Takshaka** : The serpent-god, saffron in colour with nine chaperons; believed to live in the west of the Valley.
- Talleju Bhagwati** : A sectional deity of the Mallas.
- Tamang** : A mongoloid ethnic-group found in and around the Valley of Nepal.
- Tamba** : Fermented young bamboo-shoots commonly relished by the Nepalese.
- Tamot** : A sub-division of Udas, which works in copper, brass, gold and silver; also called Tamsakar or Kansakar.
- Tatee** : A sub-caste of Jyapoo whose hereditary occupation is to weave Deva(n), a ceremonial textile material to be placed over the corpse of a dead person.
- Tau-Maka** : Earthen pots of ritual significance for marriage.
- Tepa-gnyama** : Earthen jars for storing liquor or food-grains.
- Thai-bhu** : Ritual of eating in a ritual plate; it is specially important in Yihee and marriage.
- Thaima-Puja** : A ritual connected with the worship of the roofs whenever a new house is constructed.
- Thakali** : The chief among the members of a Guthi or of the agnatic circle.

- Thakali-Naki : Wife of Thakali.
- Thako-ju-ju : A sub-caste of the Chhatharia Newars; believed to be descended from the ancient Vaishya Thakuris.
- Thakya : A mongoloid tribe of Nepal.
- Thakuri : The sub-caste of the Gorkha Kshatriya, which traces its origin from the Rajputs in Rajasthan.
- Thalai-Kulai : A ritual in which the dead person's face is washed and vermillion is applied on to his forehead; his horoscope is also tied to his neck; this is to be done by a Fukee.
- Tharu : A mixed tribe with pronounced mongoloid features to be found at the foothills of the Himalayas and in the plains.
- Tho(n) : Pronounced as ; a special type of rice-beer.
- Tika-Jhya : Window fitted on the frontside of the first-floor.
- Tri-Ratna : A Buddhist deity.
- Trisul Jatra : A festival held on the 8th of the dark-half of Asadh; the Newari term for this is Macha-ya; On this day a child is carried on the points of tridents and drawn in a rath.

- Tuchi : Nose ornament for female.
- Tula-dhar : A sub-division of Udas, traders and merchants; also known as Vania.
- Udas : A Buddhist caste which ranks below the Vanra; it is mainly concentrated in the town of Kathmandu; it is split into seven main occupational groups.
- Ukhu-charhe : A calender festival of the Newars which is observed on 14th of the dark-half of Paus; it is observed by exploding the baked sugar-canes; it signifies the act of driving away the evil spirits.
- Unmateshwar : One of the Bhairavas; its temple stands
Bhairava : near Pashupati; it is represented by a huge stone idol with a long genital organ in an erect posture; it is believed to remove firgidity of women, if its genital organ is worshipped by them.
- Upadhya : The Parbatia Brahmin; it takes the highest rank among the Nepalese caste.
- Upako-Hu-Wane- : A ritual held in honour of the dead
gu : relatives by placing lamps on the streets.
- Vaishya Thakuri: One of the early people who ruled in Nepal; they generally assumed the title of Varma.
- Vajra Satwa : The sixth divine Buddha.

- Vajra Varahi** : A female deity of lower order.
- Vana Jala** : A ritual in marriage when the bride and bride-groom have to be introduced to the presiding deity of the latter's locality.
- Vania** : A sub-division of Udas. See under Tuladhar.
- Vanra** : A sub-division of the Buddhist priestly caste. Pronounced as ; it is also called Bandya or Shakya Bhikshu; regarded as the descendants of the former Brahmin and Kshatriya monks.
- Vanra Jatra** : A festival held on the 13th of the dark-half of Bhadra and of Sravan in honour of the Buddhist priestly class, Vanra.
- Varahi** : A deity which is believed to ensure protection of the buildings and temples.
- Varuna** : The Vedic god who is regarded in Nepal as one of the Nagas.
- Vasuki** : The serpent-god; believed to dwell in the North in the Valley.
- Vighna Vinayak** : Ganesh at Chaubar in Kathmandu.
- Vishankhu** :
Narain : A form of Vishnu.
- Vishwa-Karma** : A god worshipped by the Newar artisan castes; it presides over crafts.

- Wa-Shya Deya** : A special deity in Kathmandu, which is worshipped for the cure of tooth-ache, by driving a nail into a tree-trunk; 'Wa' means 'teeth' and 'Shya' means 'pain'.
- Waye-Bhu** : A feast which signifies a farewell party and the end of Dewali-Puja.
- White-Macchendra** : The deity which is identified with Samant Bhadra, the Buddhist saint with the status of divine Buddha; it is regarded as of white colour as against the red Machhendras, called Bunga deya; the two Machhendras are also regarded as two sisters, though in Nepalese Buddhist scriptures they are viewed as males.
- Wo-Sikha** : A neck ornament much in vogue among the Jyapoo-women.
- Ya** : An abbreviated form of the term Yatra or Jatra.
- Yagna Mandap** : The sacred booth where ceremonies are performed.
- Yama** : God of death.
- Yanki-Daha** : A tank connected with the belief that Lord Indra left the Valley of Nepal from that place.
- Yihce** : Mock-marriage of a Newar girl with god Narayan who is represented by a golden emblem; a bet-fruit is kept as a witness to this marriage.

- Yo-Mari : A special kind of cake made out of rice flour, stuffed with black til and jaggery; it is regarded by the Newars as very auspicious and forms an essential ritual item in birth day celebrations.
- Yo-Mari-Punhi : It is a celebration in honour of the New harvest; it consists in eating and distributing 'Yo-marhi'; it is motivated by the desire for prosperity.
- Yoni : Symbol of the female's productive part in the form of a triangle; Buddhist's regard it as the symbol of the sacred spring in which the root of the devine lotus was enshrined and which was the residence of the goddess Guheshwari or Dharma.
- Yo(n)-Si-Mata : A festival which consists in burning a lamp on the top of a wooden pillar to light the path of the dead ancestors; it is popular among the Jyapoos.

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